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THE

MONUMENTAL HISTORY

OF

EGYPT,

AS RECORDED ON

THE RUINS OF HER TEMPLES, PALACES, AND TOMBS.

BY WILLIAM OSBURN, R.S.L.,

AUTHOR OF "THE ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT," "ANCIENT EGYPT, HER TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH," "ISRAEL IN EGYPT," ETC.

VOL. II.

From the Visit of Abram to the Exodus.

LONDON:

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THE MONUMENTAL

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

MANETHO.—CO-REGENT MONARCHS.—QUEEN THOUORIS.—KINGLY POWER HEREDITARY IN THE FAMILY OF MENES.—ABRAM.—EXACT SCIENCE.—YEAR OF 365 DAYS INVENTED IN EGYPT.—DYNASTY XII.—TABLET OF ABYDOS.—KINGS IN UPPER EGYPT.—CONCORD BETWEEN THE HIEROGLYPHICS AND THE LISTS.—AMENEMES I.—DERIVATION.—EXTENSION OF THE KINGDOM.—HIS SON.—SESORTOSIS.—SA.—PROSPEROUS REIGN.—MOUNTAIN SEPULCHRES.—CONQUEST OF THE CUSHITES.—DURATION OF WAR.—AMENEMES' TOMB.—AMENEMES II.—REIGN PEACEABLE AND PROSPEROUS.—TOMB OF NAHRAI.—HIS POSSESSIONS.—SESORTOSIS II.—REIGN INGLORIOUS.—SESORTOSIS III.—REIGN WARLIKE.—AMENEMES III., OR AMUNTIMÆUS.—SHEPHERD INVASION A CIVIL WAR.—SHEPHERD-KINGS EGYPTIAN PHARAOHS.—ARTIFICIAL LAKE MŒRIS.—THE LABYRINTH.—A SPLENDID REIGN.

THE first volume of our work contains the same portion of the History of Egypt as the first volume of the lists of Manetho. We adopted the division because it was a convenient and obvious one. In this first volume are related the planting of Egypt, and the events that befell in the course of the settlement of the religion and policy of the future kingdom. During the whole period the throne of Egypt was openly or secretly in dispute between different families of the race of MENES. The

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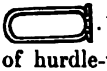
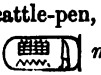
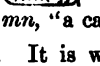
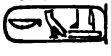
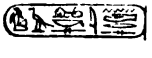
merging of the two principal of these pretensions in the person of AMENEMES, the issue of the marriage of the son of USERCHERES II., of Abydos, with the daughter of ONNOS, of Memphis, was the occurrence which brought this epoch to its termination.

The period included in Manetho's second volume is distinguished by a similar peculiarity. It is the history of Egypt under the monarchs of the 12th to the 19th dynasties inclusive; and during the whole of this interval two lines of kings, of the race of MENES,* were reigning in Egypt at the same time, both always pretending to

* The ring or frame which enclosed the names of the kings of Egypt denoted they were of the race of MENES. It is the ground-plot of a cattle-pen, made of wicker hurdles  . The name of MENES  *mn-ei*, signifies "a maker of hurdle-pens." The word  *mn*, "a cattle-pen," remains in the Coptic texts (ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, "*pascua*"). It is written initially, and therefore does not denote "a hurdle," but that which is formed with hurdles. We have elsewhere noticed the power of *ei*, when thus compounded with other words. It corresponds with the Coptic grammar forms, ⲁ, ⲁⲓ, "make," "manufacture." This notion that every king of Egypt must of necessity be one of the sons of MENES was, doubtless, of the utmost service in the primitive times. It effectually excluded all but the members of one family from the pretension to the throne. So sacred was the condition held, that, at the end of the Pharaonic kingdom, the priests made the relationship. If their accounts are to be believed, CAMBYSES was the natural son of AMASIS II., whom he expelled from the throne of Egypt. Alexander the Great also, was, according to them, the fruit of an illicit intercourse between NECTANEBO, the last of the Pharaohs, and Olympia, the wife of Philip of Macedon. By these fictions, they endeavoured to reconcile to the usages of the kingdom the circumstance that both these conquerors of Egypt enclosed their names in hieroglyphics in the ring of MENES.

 CAMBYSES.  ALEXANDER the GREAT.

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the whole monarchy, and often at war with each other. The dominions of the older pretension lay principally in the Delta, and on the eastern bank of the river. For distinction's sake, we name this line of kings the Lower Egyptian or Memphite Pharaohs. Their rivals reigned in Upper Egypt; and their district was chiefly on the western bank. We, therefore, name them Upper Egyptian or Theban Pharaohs. The struggles of these two families for the crown of all Egypt, and the various success that attended them, constitute the history of the kingdom during the whole epoch. Influenced by the motives we have already amply exposed, the compilers of Manetho's lists make these two co-regent families into dynasties reigning over all Egypt, the one after the other. We have, nevertheless, rightly explained their motive in arranging this epoch in one volume. Queen THOUORIS, the last of the Memphites, in whom the line itself became extinct, is also the last monarch named in the second volume of the lists. The present division of our work will for these reasons contain the history of Egypt from the visit of Abram to the death of SETHOS II., the nephew of THOUORIS, and the last monarch of the 19th dynasty; in Hebrew history, to the Exodus. A period the duration of which approximates to 600 years.

The pacification between the various contending factions, which ended the first volume of the HISTORY of EGYPT, was promoted by the counsels of the patriarch Abram, who was at that time sojourning here. This tradition of the Jews was repeated to the Egyptian priesthood by Josephus, the Jewish historian, in a

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defence of his own people, and they could not deny it. The fact is, therefore, well established.

Abram, at the same time, taught the Egyptians astronomy and arithmetic, of which before they were in a great measure ignorant. This fact, also, is stated on the same authority; and there is monumental evidence of it. We have elsewhere explained* that dates of the years of the reign of Pharaoh, and the names of the months, first appear on the monuments of AMENEMES, who was a party to the pacification of Abram.

The nature of the changes introduced by the patriarch into the mode of computing time, and of the knowledge communicated by him regarding the motions of the heavenly bodies, must now be briefly considered. The first settlers regulated time by the direct observation of the crescent, the half moon, and the full moon. Their year began with the first full moon after the dog-star (Syrius, the brightest star in the heavens visible in Mesopotamia) rose just at sunset. All these phenomena were directly observed and noted. Their accumulated observations had supplied them with no data whence to compute their occurrence beforehand, save the very imperfect one that 10 days was somewhere about the interval that separated each of the three phases of the moon of which they took note; and, therefore, the lunation (*i.e.*, from full moon to full moon), was divided into three weeks of 10 days each. The extreme imperfectness of this mode of computing time appears clearly enough both in itself and in its results. They do not seem to have kept any registry

* Vol. i. p. 378.

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of the lapse of years. No single occurrence of a date has yet been met with on any of their monuments.

The progress of exact science regarding the celestial phenomena, and the regulation of time by them, had been far more rapid on the plains of Mesopotamia during the five hundred * years that had now elapsed since the Mizraites had emigrated from thence. Abram, who had just left that country, had acquired there the knowledge which he communicated to the Egyptians.

There can be no accurate registry of the lapse of time until the precise length of the year has been defined. This essential preliminary never could have been decided by mere direct notices of the appearances of the heavens and the earth, such as the monuments show to have been the only modes of computation resorted to by the Mizraites and their immediate descendants. The calendar which Abram taught the Egyptians supplied this deficiency. It made the year to consist of 12 moons, or months, of 30 days each.† This settlement of the length of the year enabled the Egyptians of the subsequent epochs to date their monuments; which, as we have shown, would have been impossible before.

The year of 360 days is artificial. It does not correspond with the times either of the sun or the moon. The sun returns to the same apparent place among the fixed stars in about 365 days. The moon completes

* Josephus, Antiq. Jud. viii. § 1, 2.

† This calendar is the same as that in use among the Patriarchs, as appears from the Bible. This identity would be accepted as a triumphant proof of the truth of the tradition, had Abram been one of the heroes of Herodotus. In its existing association it merely serves to raise incessant clouds of deep and dusty dispute.

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twelve revolutions round the earth in about 354 days,—360 is the mean between the two numbers. The two extremes, therefore, must both have been ascertained before striking this average. According to the tradition of Josephus, it was invented by the Chaldeans. These dwellers in Mesopotamia were noted for their knowledge of astronomy by all antiquity, sacred and profane. Their wise men (probably their priesthood) devoted themselves to it as to a profession; and such a devotion could alone have determined the two periods whence the number 360 arose. These pursuits, moreover, would be much more congenial to those who remained in the old country, like the Chaldeans, than to wanderers going forth to plant colonies, like the Mizraites and the rest of the descendants of Noah.

It appears from the notices of the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia, in the Greek authors, that the year of 360 days was in universal use among them.* This proves the truth of the tradition that it was invented there. The same year was also as well known, and as invariably used, by the descendants of Abram. This appears from the Bible. Abram, then, had learned it in Chaldea, the land of his birth; and he taught it to the Egyptians during his sojourn with them. It is scarcely possible for an ancient fact to rest on stronger evidence.

The Chaldeans and the Patriarchs merely numbered the twelve months. The constant variation, therefore, of this artificial year from the true solar year of 365 days, was corrected without inconvenience by repeating the 12th month every 6 years.† In Egypt they gave a

* Lepsius, Einl. p. 9.

† This was the ואדר (*Veadar*) of the later Hebrews.

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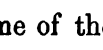
name to each month denoting its place in the three seasons into which their year was divided.* It was this circumstance which suggested an improvement upon the Chaldee arrangement. They divided the 30 days of the extra month by 6, and affixed the quotient (5 days) to the end of each year. Dr. Lepsius has rightly pointed out that these 5 days are mentioned on a monument of the second successor of AMENEMES.† It is, therefore, highly probable that the 5 days of the epact were invented in Egypt, and that the Chaldeans afterwards adopted them from thence. That a discovery should be made in one country, and improved and perfected in another, is no uncommon occurrence in human affairs.

It would, however, be a great error to assume that these computations were made with any approach to the accuracy of modern times, or even with the theoretical knowledge of somewhat later epochs. A remarkable proof of their want of exactitude is still in existence. When the calendar was made, the month Thoth was the first moon after the overflow, which at Memphis would fall about the middle of our December. This is evident from the hieroglyphic name of the month  . But when the Greeks of Alexandria first began to cultivate astronomy (200 B. C.), the month Thoth had gone back in the calendar six months and more, for want of regular correction to true time. This new place of Thoth, which it has since retained, is about the period when the dog-star rises *heliacally*, that is, just at sunrise, which can only be computed, as the star is of course invisible. Whereas, when Thoth fell on the

* Vol. i. p. 144.

† *u. s.* p. 155. It is the tomb of Nahrai, at Beni-hassan.

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moon at first intended, the dog-star rose *cosmically*, that is, just at sunset, which is easily observed. The Greeks, however, knew nothing of hieroglyphics; and the Egyptian priests were too proud, as well as too ignorant, to set them right on such a point. So that the computations of the Sothic cycle,* by the Greek mathematicians and astronomers, are all based upon the mistake that the Egyptian year began when the dog-star rose with the sun; whereas, its real commencement was 6 months earlier, when the dog-star rose at sunset.

The disturbing cause which occasioned this enormous error in the Egyptian calendar is not far to seek. The actual length of the solar year is $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. The calendar provided for 365 days only. Its framers knew nothing of this extra quarter of a day, for which the modern leap-year compensates. Indeed, at so early a period, with so few observations before them, and without artificial aids for making them accurately, how could they? The opposite assumption, which is maintained by modern philosophy upon the authority of the Alexandrian Greeks of the first and second centuries,† appears to us utterly extravagant in itself, and to be sufficiently refuted by the fact we have just stated; viz., that when the Egyptian calendar first came under the notice of the Greeks, it erred from true time to the greatest extent possible. This could not have happened

* The Sothic cycle is a year of the quarter-days at the end of each solar year, *i.e.*, $365 \times 4 = 1460$ years. It was a figment invented by the Alexandrian Greeks, who also altered the dates in the history of Egypt, real and fabulous, in order to make them Sothic cycles, thus giving it the sanction of antiquity.

† Lepsius, Einl. pp. 165—180.

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had the framers and keepers of it been so familiar with the theory of the heavens as the knowledge of this quarter of a day would require them to have been.

Besides this year of 12 months of 30 days, and the 5 days of the epact, two longer periods seem, from the monuments, to have been used in Egypt at this epoch.

1. The Apiac cycle; that is, the duration of the life of the bull Apis at Memphis. The priests slaughtered the animal on a certain day, and then proclaimed that a new Apis was born. This festival is mentioned in the tomb of Amunei, at Beni-hassan, one of the officers of the son of AMENEMES, "the year of the birth of Apis." The interval after which the festivals of this solemnity took place is said by the Greeks to have been 25 years;* that is, 309 lunations, within an hour; and, in the course of them, the phases all return to the same day and hour as at the beginning.

2. The *st*, panegyry; that is, "the festival recurring every 30 years.† This was a year of moons. It consisted of 360 or 365 lunations. The festival at the end of it was called *st* (Copt., CAT, "tail," "termination"‡), because it was celebrated in the last moon of the period. This interval first appears on the monuments of the 12th dynasty.

Thus, it will be seen, time in Ancient Egypt was measured and regulated as far as possible by the moon only.§

* Plutarch de Iside, c. 56. Herod. iii. 27, &c.

† Rosetta, Greek, line 2, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ The group is determined by the tail of an animal.

§ For the Egyptian Calendars, see Appendix A.

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DYNASTY XII.

The succession of the kings of this dynasty is happily preserved to us on many monuments, as well as in the Greek lists; so that this portion of the History of Egypt is very satisfactorily recovered.

We commence with the Chamber of Karnak, our first and highest authority. On it the 12th dynasty stands, as our readers are aware, in plane B of our Diagram. Two of the names (B 11, 12), are defaced. They, however, are happily supplied from another genealogy, the history and description of which have often been written. Mr. William Banks, an English traveller in Egypt, discovered, on the wall of a temple at Abydos, three long rows of royal names, each in the usual enclosure. This was in the year 1818, when the study of hieroglyphics was just beginning to attract general notice. Several copies of this monument were taken then and afterwards. One of these was seen by Champollion, who ascertained it to be the genealogy of RAMSES II., of the 19th dynasty, one of the most eminent of the Pharaohs. This discovery directed the public attention strongly towards it. The moment the news of its value reached Egypt, it was broken to pieces by one of the rascal adventurers in the service of the late pacha, in an attempt to saw it off from the wall. A fragment or two were sent to Paris, where they were bought for the British Museum. They now form part of that collection. It is the monument known to describers of curiosities from Egypt as *the Tablet of Abydos*.

The succession of the same family of kings is also recorded there; but, like that at Karnak, it is much

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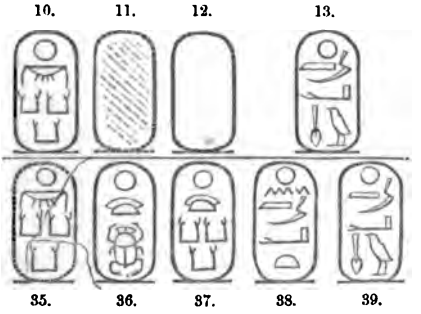
mutilated, though, happily, in another part of the series, so that the one supplies the deficiencies of the other. The defaced names (B 11, 12), are filled up from thence. The succession stands thus on these two authorities:



It will be observed, that the second and third names of this succession, defaced at Karnak, are extant at Abydos (36, 37); and that where one king only is recorded at Karnak (13), two appear at Abydos (38, 39). This is a displacement in the former genealogy the cause of which we shall hereafter consider.

We have many other monumental authorities for this succession. No history can be better authenticated.

The kings of this line were, as we have elsewhere explained, Pharaohs in Upper Egypt, the lineal descendants of MENCHERES, and the fierce partizans of his reforms. They, therefore, wrote their names in two rings, after the example of their ancestor MENTHESUPHIS. They likewise assumed certain epithets or titles, which, though not inscribed in their rings, were, nevertheless, strictly peculiar to them, and a part of their names. We give here the full names of the whole of them in this order of their succession, beginning with AMENEMES, the founder of the dynasty.

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	Name in Lower Egypt.	Name in Upper Egypt.	Title.
I. AMENEMES I.			
II. OSORTASEN I.			
III. AMENEMES II.			
IV. OSORTASEN II.			
V. OSORTASEN III.			
VI. AMENEMES III.			
VII. AMENEMES IV.			

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The lists of Manetho present a remarkable accordance with this hieroglyphic succession.

		Years.
Dynasty XI.	Thebans.—Amenemes (the last king) reigned...	14
Dynasty XII.	Thebans.—Sesortosis, his son	46
„	„ Amenemes (slain by his own eunuchs)	38
„	„ Sesortosis	48
„	„ Lachares (built the Labyrinth) ...	8
„	„ Ameus (Amun timæus)	8
„	„ Amenemes	8

It will be noted that in all these names there is a visible resemblance to the hieroglyphic originals whence they were copied more than 2000 years ago. They have undergone no subsequent collation or correction; but, on the other hand, the lists have been transcribed by ignorant persons, incapable of correcting mistakes, many times over. The coincidence between the copy and the original, after such and so long-continued a process, is far greater than might have been anticipated.

Amenemes I.

The history of this founder of an illustrious house belongs in great part to the former volume, and we have there recorded it. We have, however, reserved for this place a few particulars which bear especially upon the fortunes of his sons and successors.

Amenemes seems to have been the first Pharaoh who held his regal state in the Upper country, treating Lower Egypt as a conquest or dependency. We have explained that in the chamber of Karnak his son appears in the lower plane (A 9) as the conqueror of Memphis, and again immediately over his father, among

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the kings of Lower Egypt, as his viceroy in that city. C. 10, *prince viceroy.*

AMENEMES built a palace, which was named after him, in the vicinity of Beni-hassan.* This locality, in common with the whole country to the south of Memphis, was in his time considered as Upper Egypt.

The southern capital of AMENEMES appears to have been Coptos. As in the case of his predecessors, the transaction whereby that city came to be thus inaugurated is commemorated in his name. His ring in Lower Egypt reads, *ra sa-hotp-het*, i.e., "Pharaoh (sun) whose heart is one with Sa." Our readers are aware that *Sa* was the male half of the goddess Neith, the tutelary of Sais, in the Delta, whence the name of this city.† His upper Egyptian name, Amenemes, *i.e.*, *amn-mhe*, "the bringer in (introducer) of Amun," refers to the same transaction. He removed the statue of Sa from Coptos, and enshrined it in the original temple of Neith, at Sais. Hence his name in Lower Egypt. He then took the image of Ham, or Amun, from its temple, at Peramoun, and enshrined it in the temple of Neith, in Upper Egypt, which his predecessor, SENUCHERES, of the 11th dynasty, had built. Hereby he appears to have reunited Ham to Neith, or Neveth, who had been his wife when living; from which circumstance the city of SENUCHERES came to be called *Coptos*, i.e., KGBT, "union."

Some prosperous event most probably befell AMEN-

* Inscription of Nahrai, c. 66. † Vol. i. p. 365.

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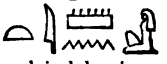
EMES shortly after this act of devotion to Amun, which encouraged him to another display of his reverence for this idol. He dedicated another temple to him at Luxor, about 15 miles south of Coptos; and like it also on the eastern bank of the river. This site was immediately over against Thebes, of which metropolis it afterwards formed a part. Amun in this temple was under the same form as the Coptic Amun. His wife was merely his female half  *Tamun.*

These transactions had a highly important bearing upon the subsequent history of the monarchy.

AMENEMES prosecuted the work of colonization to the southward, which had been begun by his predecessors. His is the most ancient royal name that appears on the rocks of Assouan, or Syene, which is on the extreme southern border of Egypt Proper; so that under him the kingdom reached the utmost limits to which it ever extended.

The duration of the reign of AMENEMES is said in the lists to have been 16 years. Its dated monuments are too few to enable us either to verify or to contradict them. They only supply us with one additional circumstance. Late in it (probably in its 14th year*) he associated his eldest son with him on the throne as king in all Egypt. This (to modern notions) scarcely comprehensible arrangement began, as we have seen, with the monarchy itself; and was based upon its division into two kingdoms, and upon its fundamental law, that the sons of MENES only could be kings in

* The tablet on which this is recorded is mutilated, so that the date is scarcely legible. It is in the Louvre.

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Egypt. The compact between the two co-regents was altogether of a friendly character; and must be carefully distinguished from the rival pretensions of other branches of the family of MENES: such were the Heracleopolitan kings, of the 9th and 10th dynasties, at Sebennytus, in the Eastern Delta. These continued to reign there during the entire epoch now under consideration. In the times of Amenemes and his son, their power was at a very low ebb. The transactions at Sais and Peramoun were most probably the fruits of victories over them.

II. THE SON OF AMENEMES.

The name of this monarch in Lower Egypt we have already found to mean, "formed of the substance of the sun" *kru-kr-re.** This is a probable allusion to one of the great works of his reign, which was the building of large additions to the temple of Athom, *i.e.*, the sun, at Heliopolis. Our readers are aware that this city was in all probability his by inheritance, through his mother, the daughter of ONNOS. The statue in the Vatican, already described, formed one of the decorations of this temple. One of the obeliscs before the propylea is likewise still upright, and in its place. Should sufficient interest ever be excited in the subject to induce some European government to excavate extensively at Matarea (the site of Heliopolis), doubtless many more historical data will be found concerning these vast constructions, which gave to so illustrious a king his name in Lower Egypt.

* Vol. i. p. 400.

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The name of the son of AMENEMES in Upper Egypt, is ordinarily written *Osortasen* in Roman letters. This is, however, a mere reading of convenience, having no known meaning, and, therefore, in the highest degree unsatisfactory, by the admission of all students of the subject. We have already found the group composed by the three first characters, and read it *user*, meaning "watcher," "vigilant." Of the remaining characters, we believe the first and last to be the feminine demonstrative, , Coptic, ⲧⲉⲓ, "this," which is here used derisively, like the corresponding Hebrew word, זֹה, "this." The middle character, , the bolt of a gate, is here introduced into the system, for the first time, as the homophon of the yoke, to which its use is closely allied. The bolt is as obvious a symbol of "union" or "junction" as the yoke. We have seen that was the name of the male half of Neith, as well as the sound *s*. The bolt was substituted for it in this instance as a lower, meaner symbol of the same idea.* The expulsion of Sa from Coptos, and his introduction by AMENEMES into Sais, had, doubtless, given offence to the partizans of the old religion, and a war or tumult had been the consequence. It was the quelling of this tumult, and the means adopted to prevent its recurrence, that were the occasion upon which the son of AMENEMES took this name. It means "watcher over this Sa," the name of the god being degraded both by the meaner symbol that denoted it, and the grammar form that accompanied

* *Turpi quōque sensu.*

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it. It was probably pronounced *sa-usr-ten*, whence the Greeks made the words *Sesorthros* and *Sesortosis*.

We shall presently see that this abominable idol was soon afterwards the occasion of a great war, wherein Egypt suffered many disasters.

The change in estimation undergone by Sa in the interval between AMENEMES and his son is very common in the annals of all idolatries.

Another extant cotemporary work of the son of AMENEMES in North Egypt is the obelisc at Crocodilopolis, in the Faioum, which we have described in the former volume. It is remarkable for the important and deeply interesting character of its mythic allusions. It at one time adorned the entrance to a stately temple built by this monarch to Seba, or Sebek, the crocodile.

The tombs of the prince and nobles of the court of SESORTOSIS I. which yet exist, and the tablets and other fragments that have been discovered at Abydos and elsewhere, all tell of great internal prosperity during his reign. That of one of his generals, *Amenemes*, at Beni-hassan, is a noble vault forty feet square, with a triple-vaulted roof. It was completed in the forty-third year of the reign of SESORTOSIS. The history embodied in the inscriptions on the door-posts will presently require our attention.

The custom of burying the dead in tombs excavated in the mountains that hem in the valley immediately to the northward of Abydos, was evidently suggested by the strange superstition which followed upon the completion of the bold design of MENCHERES to re-

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construct there the mutilated mummy of Osiris. Every mummy in Egypt must be brought to Abydos, inasmuch as the Busirides of the whole kingdom had been desecrated. It became, therefore, a point of convenience that the journey back should be shortened. It was, doubtless, also deemed desirable that the final resting-place of the aspirant to a future resurrection should be as near as possible to Abydos, where was the sacred shrine which contained the mummy of the god and king of the resurrection. Therefore it is, that at this point the mountains on both sides the Nile for thirty miles together in a place where the valley is very narrow, are honey-combed with tombs to an extent which is absolutely without parallel anywhere else in the world. Among the few points in this range of sepulchres which have escaped mutilation, Beni-hassan holds a highly distinguished place. The tombs there are, from causes we shall hereafter have to investigate, in a state of preservation very superior to those in any other place in the entire range.

This internal prosperity of the kingdom of SESORTOSIS I. would, probably enough, suggest to him the prosecution of the scheme of his ancestors in the extension of his southern limits. Accordingly, at Wady Halfa, which is far south in Upper Nubia, a tablet was found, commemorating the expulsion of the negro Cushites from the whole of the district which we comprehend under this name, and which was named in hieroglyphics, , *lit.*, "the waters and the land of the unstrung bow." Eight different races or tribes of these Cushites are said on it to have been subjugated by SESORTOSIS,

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and made the slaves of Egypt. This is denoted by a picture. Monthra, or Mars, leads in cords eight negroes, with their arms bound behind them, and in brick dungeons on which the names of the tribes they represent are written in hieroglyphics. Wady Halfa was, doubtless, the furthest point to which the conquests of SESORTOSIS extended to the southward. With that strange mixture of fear and reverence, of hatred and dread, which characterizes all idolatry, and which so often renders incomprehensible to right reason the motives of the worshippers of false gods, he commemorated this his conquest by dedicating there a shrine to Sa, the male half of Neith, the god whom he reviled and mocked in his second or Upper Egyptian name. To those who are familiar with idolatry in any age or country, this procedure will present nothing remarkable; though in any other affair of human life it would be mere idiocy.

The Cushites never recovered the district whence they were expelled by these conquests of SESORTOSIS I. Nubia remained a dependency on Egypt from thence up to the time of the destruction of the monarchy.

The war which made this large addition to the territory of Egypt was of long duration. There are inscriptions on the rocks of Assouan or Syene (the extreme southern limit of Egypt Proper), written by officers of his army in the thirty-third and forty-first years of the reign of SESORTOSIS I.* These acts of adoration of the local god seem always to have been

* Lepsius, Abt. ii. pl. 118.

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made during a casual halt on a march. In the forty-third year the war seems to have been brought to its termination.

One of the monuments which commemorated its successful issue yet remains almost uninjured. It is the vast hall excavated by the chief Amenemes in the rock of Beni-hassan. The beauty of these tombs can scarcely be conveyed, either by description or illustration, to those who have not seen them, so fair are their proportions, and so lovely is the harmony of colour in the *tout ensemble* of the rich and elaborate pictures that decorate their walls. The amount of human drudgery applied to the hewing out of these huge vaults in the solid limestone rock, and of skilled art in chiselling the pillars, the massives, the arches, and the doorways, and in covering them throughout with paintings and engraved inscriptions, set all modern calculation at defiance. The amount of forced labour at the command of their excavators must have been immense. There can be no doubt that the whole of the inhabitants of Nubia were liable to this service, according to the invariable practice of ancient conquerors;* and that the tombs of Beni-hassan are the fruit of the victories over Cush, of SESORTORIS, his father, and his successors.

The tomb of Amenemes is conspicuous, amid the vaults that surround it, for its magnificent porch, and the elaborate finish of its interior decorations. The porch, or entrance, opens entire upon the perpendicular face of the rock; and which is hollowed horizontally to

* See 1 Kings ix. 20—22, &c.

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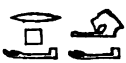
the depth of about 15 feet. The roof of this porch is groined parallel to the face of the rock; and the architrave is supported by two octangular massives, hewn, like all the rest, *vivo saxo*, and displaying great proficiency in the mason's art. The doorway is entirely covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, a specimen of the highest and purest style of engraving. The inner vault, or hall, which we have already described, has a triple-groined roof; the two architraves of which are supported each by two Doric fluted columns, being by far the earliest example of this pillar in existence.

A few hints at the history of this superb mausoleum may be gathered from the long inscription on the door we have just mentioned. It was excavated by the ancestors of Amenemes, a young man of 25, who had, nevertheless, attained to some considerable command in the army of SESORTOSIS. Its dedication took place in the 43rd year of SESORTOSIS, on the 15th day of the month Phaophi; which we can scarcely err in assuming to have been the date of the termination of the war with Cush, and of the entire subjugation of Nubia. The inscription is an account of the ceremony, but so grievously deficient in perspicuity, that it is no easy matter to follow it.

Amenemes takes the title,  , *rapha-he*, "chief physician,"* which seems to have been purely honorific, and not necessarily connected with the practice of the healing art. It was universal with the courtiers of this line of kings, but scarcely to be found either before or after their times. He had besides this

* Hebrew, רפא, *rapha*, "to heal."

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several ecclesiastical and civil titles. He appears to have returned from Nubia at the conclusion of the war; probably bringing the treaty with the conquered enemy to the king, with whom he had an interview at Coptos. The king presented him with an ample amount of the spoil taken from the enemy. At the command of the king, Amenemes then proceeded down the Nile, with a fleet of many ships, to Abydos, where he embarked the mummies of four hundred soldiers of his regiment, who had perished in the war with Cush, and six hundred of the regiment of his younger brother, who had an appointment in the city of Coptos, and was one of the king's fan-bearers, being named after him *Sesortosis;* so that this tomb was inaugurated by the deposit of no fewer than one thousand mummies in its spacious vaults. Large offerings accompanied each; amongst which, signet rings for each, having the first name of the king, *kru-kr-re*, engraven on jasper of the desert, and set in gold, are especially noticed. The entrance to the mummy pits beneath the floor of the great hall has never been found; and, we trust, never will be, until Egypt has a government able and willing to restrain the barbarism of the Turks and Arabs, and the rapacity of the curiosity-collectors of Cairo. It seems highly probable from hence that they contain considerable treasure. Four living captives are mentioned as a valuable item among the offerings presented by Amenemes to the tomb. They were, doubtless, slaves of the tomb; and kept always at work cleaning and repairing it. Besides these, many channels of irrigation, and plots of land, were devoted to the maintenance of

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the attendants upon it, and of the periodical feasts, which took place in the great hall.

The reign of SESORTOSIS I. lasted for 46 years; so that he seems to have survived three years the conquest of Nubia.

AMENEMES II.

The name of this monarch in Lower Egypt is significant of no action more considerable than the dedication of a portion of gold, either in bullion, or wrought into images, to the temple of Athom, at Heliopolis, *nb-kru-re*, lit., "portions of gold to the sun." In Upper Egypt he took his grandfather's name.

AMENEMES II. was probably made viceroy of Memphis on the death of his grandfather, though this fact is not commemorated at Karnak, through the displacement of his father's name (A 9). It seems, however, to have been the custom of his family. He was associated with his father on the throne, as king in all Egypt, in the 42nd year of the reign of the former. A fragment of stone, inscribed, found apparently at Abydos, and now in the museum at Leyden, records this circumstance. His son was on that occasion installed in the office of viceroy of Memphis, which he thereby vacated (Karnak, B 10, C 11).

The reign of AMENEMES II. seems to have been long, peaceable, and prosperous. He appears, on the monuments, to have been without the warlike propensities either of his father or his grandfather. His name remains inscribed upon constructions wherewith he adorned his kingdom, and added to its material pros-

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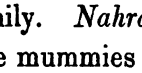
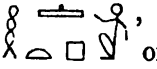
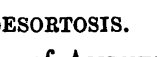
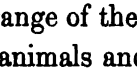
perity. At Debod, for example, in Lower Nubia (*see Map*), he seems to have built a palace. The tomb of one of his nobles at Beni-hassan, Nahrai, the son of Nuhophthis, gives likewise many important particulars concerning the internal government of Egypt in his reign. The title which he assumed "soothsayer of the words of truth," would seem to indicate that he had himself the gift of prophecy; and, doubtless, that he munificently patronized the priests, the prophets, and others engaged in the service of the gods.

The tomb of Nahrai has, as we have explained, an inscription of 222 columns upon the surbase of its great hall. As Nahrai himself and his son were the cotemporaries of AMENEMES II., the transactions recorded in it belong principally to his reign.

This sepulchre contained the dead of six generations of the same family. *Nahrai*,  the excavator, deposited in it the mummies of his grandfather, *Nuhophthis*,  , the cotemporary of AMENEMES; and  of his father Nuhophthis II., a courtier of SESORTOSIS. He himself (Nahrai) died during the reign of AMENEMES II.; who confirmed all the possessions of the family on *Hamshe*, ["the carpenter"] the first-born of Nahrai.

In the days of AMENEMES II., the following were the possessions of this illustrious family:—

 "The range of the eastern desert." The chase of the animals and birds which abounded in the green spots in the midst of the sand, and still more in the pools formed by the superfluous waters of the

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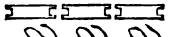
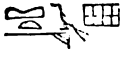
overflow on the edge of the tilled land. These were planted with papyrus reeds, and used as decoy ponds for wild fowl. They were named in hieroglyphics,  "the hinder or nether pools." This rangership was highly valued and very profitable. It had been first conferred upon the house by AMENEMES I. Nahrai is represented on the wall of the great hall, to the left of the doorway, in the exercise of it. On his death it was continued to his heir by AMENEMES II.

"The land of RAOPHIS." We have elsewhere explained that this plot was probably situated at the gorge of the Faioum, and near the upper mound of Menes. This also was the gift of AMENEMES I. to the founder of the family. It was conferred on Nuhophthis I. on the occasion of opening the great canal of the Faioum. A sluice in the eastern bank of the canal, which greatly increased the productiveness of the estate, was granted at the same time. The whole had most probably been a conquest of AMENEMES I., from the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs. The frequent mention of this possession, in the course of the inscription, clearly indicates its value and importance (cc. 20, 56, 79).

 "The land of the Hawk Mountain." This estate lay a few miles to the south of the former, and also between the Nile and the canal of the Faioum. Immediately over against it, on the eastern bank of the Nile, is a rugged crag, rising perpendicularly, from the water's edge, to the height of 800 feet. The inaccessible ravines on its summit are to this day

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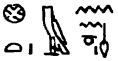
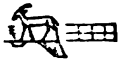
the favourite resort of vultures, eagles, and other birds of prey. On this account it retains its ancient name, *Gebel et Tayr*, "the hill of the hawk." Another sluice, in the eastern bank of the canal of the Faioum, was conceded to Nahrai for the fertilization of this land also (cc. 33, 34, *seq.*).

 "The land of the two streams." This was apparently a narrow slip of fertile land, immediately to the northward of Beni-hassan, but on the opposite bank, and between the Nile and the canal of the Faioum, where they approach very near to each other. Nahrai was empowered by AMENEMES II. to enlarge the sluices, both from the canal and the Nile, so as to irrigate it to the extent prescribed in the sacred books for the growth of the plant *asut*, probably some gourd (c. 39, *seq.*).

 This was the name of Beni-hassan. Immediately opposite, on the western bank of the Nile, are extensive groves of tamarisk trees at this day. It was the same in ancient times, and Nahrai was verdurer of them.

"The land of the hare." This lay immediately to the south of the preceding. Nahrai was permitted to increase the fertility of this plot by the construction of two sluices on the Nile* (cc. 49, 50).

These five estates were all situate on the western bank of the Nile, and between it and the river of the Faioum. The two first had belonged to the ancestors

* The localities in this part of Egypt are very generally named after wild animals.

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of Nahrai. The last three seem to have been tokens of the favour of AMENEMES II. to Nahrai himself.

The same munificent monarch also permitted Nahrai to pierce the western bank of the river of the Faioum, over against a plot of land known by the name of "the western land of the jackal;" thereby not only increasing its fertility, but also bringing under cultivation a large area of the western desert. This estate was given by Nahrai to his first-born son Hamshe.

In addition to these, Nahrai inherited from his mother, the princess *Osht*, three offices all of high honour.

1. He was the custos of the sacred animal of Beni-hassan, which was a large goat or antelope (cc. 62, 63).

2. He was constable of the palace of AMENEMES I., at Beni-hassan (cc. 64, 66).

3. He was *steward of the land-tax for the support of the schools of the sons of the kings of Lower Egypt* (cc. 69, 70).

The singular and interesting fact of the existence of endowed establishments for education at this remote period is proved by other hieroglyphic readings, as well as the one now before us. We hope for a future opportunity of returning to the subject.

On the death of Nahrai, his first-born son, Hamshe, was invested with all his offices and the possession of the whole of his estates, by AMENEMES II. (cc. 74—76). In token of his gratitude for these favours, Hamshe appointed a series of festivals, to be held in the great

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hall of the tomb, thrice every month; that is, in every decade of the year, and also on the five days of the epact; giving, for the maintenance of them, the tythe of all his properties (cc. 89—96).

The name of AMENEMES II. appears, on the rocks of Assouan, on two tablets commemorative of the quarrying of granite from them, in the 13th and 35th years of his reign. According to the lists, he was king of Egypt for 38 years. All the existing memorials of his reign tell of an era of external peace and internal prosperity.

SESORTOSIS II.

Was made viceroy of Memphis on his father's accession. He became co-regent with him over all Egypt in the 32nd year of his reign.* On this occasion, either his younger son or his nephew took his place at Memphis. This prince afterwards became king of Egypt; and was dispossessed of Memphis by SAITES, the Lower Egyptian Pharaoh. For this reason, his first ring is omitted from the succession of the kings of Upper Egypt at Karnak; and he is only named as viceroy of Memphis under the name he afterwards took for his second ring, "the prince Amenemes, the truth-teller" (12), which, being his name in Upper Egypt, was, as we shall find, frequently assumed in Lower Egypt.

He appears in his right place at Abydos as the next successor but one to SESORTOSIS II.

* Tablet at Assouan.

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The first name of SESORTOSIS II. (B) is not significant of any considerable action. It means, "the sun on the feast of his incarnation;" and does not appear to allude to anything more than that his birth-day was that of some festival to the sun. This second name was that of his grandfather.

The history appended in the list to the name of the preceding monarch, AMENEMES II. tells us that he was slain by his own eunuchs; by which, doubtless, was meant his princes.* This would seem to indicate that some political troubles took place in Egypt at the time of his death. The circumstance that the second son, or nephew, of his successor was made viceroy of Memphis shows, likewise, that some disturbance had occurred in the ordinary course of the succession, further strengthening the indication.

Misled by the resemblance of *Sesortosis*, or *Sesorthros*, to *Sesostris*, the Greek translators of the lists have confounded the monarch now before us with the Sesostris of Herodotus, and appended to his name a brief epitome of his history of the exploits of that hero. The error, though palpable, is one into which such historians as the Alexandrian chronologers were very likely to fall. It has, however, no shadow of support from the monuments. SESORTOSIS II. was an inglorious monarch,

* "prince," transcribed, in Hebrew characters, סריס, *saris*, in the beginning of the Bible, was, in later times, assimilated to a Persian word having the signification of "eunuch." This assimilation has misled the Greek or Jew transcribers of the lists in the place before us. There is no evidence, monumental or otherwise, that eunuchs were ever among the attendants upon the kings of Egypt.

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leaving but very few monuments of his reign. Whereas the name and fame of the true SESOSTRIS, we shall find to be just as conspicuous on the monuments of Egypt as in the pages of Herodotus.

The records of the reign of SESORTOSIS II. are but scanty. A small figure of him in the Louvre, beautifully executed in cornelian, declares him to have been the son of AMENEMES II. A tablet from Abydos, in the same collection, is dated in the second year of his reign. Another, on the granite rocks of Assouan, commemorates the quarrying of granite from thence in the 3rd year.

In the 6th year of the reign of SESORTOSIS II., he was presented by Nuhophthis II., the grandson of Nahrai, with what would in his day be accounted a munificent gift. It consisted of thirty-seven Jebusites, skilled in the art of pounding antimony to the black powder, or *stibium*, so profusely used in the toilettes of Ancient Egypt as a cosmetic. It was applied between the eyelids, by means of a bodkin, as in Modern Egypt. The eyebrows were also filled with it, and broad lines were painted with it under the eyes. The use of it in Ancient Egypt seems to have absolutely universal, and by both sexes; so that the labours of these slaves would be largely in requisition for the preparation of this doubtless royal monopoly. Nuhophthis obtained these slaves by purchase from one of the petty kings of the Jebusites. The picture has been so frequently repeated in English books, from its imagined connection with the immigration of Israel into Egypt, that it is needless to encumber our present work with it. The

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transaction took place in the eastern desert, over which Nuhophthis inherited the rangership from his ancestors. It is, therefore, made part of the hunting-scene that covers the north wall of the noble vault of Nahrai, at Beni-hassan. A present like this tells loudly of a luxurious court and an effeminate monarch; and such we believe to have been the character of SESORTOSIS II.*

The inscription on the surbase of the hall of Nahrai informs us that all the possessions of his ancestors were confirmed to Nuhophthis III., his grandson, by SESORTOSIS II., and that, in addition, a fourth sluice from the canal of Faioum was granted him in its western bank, whereby the western land of the jackal was further fertilized, and sundry other tracts reclaimed from the western desert (cc. 123—147). The possessions of this noble family were, therefore, on the increase during the reign of SESORTOSIS II. Nor is there anything on the monuments to contradict the assumption which this fact suggests, that the rest of Egypt was in a similar state of progressive prosperity at this epoch.

The tomb of *Thotephthis*, at Bersheh, in Middle Egypt, is well known for the device in it of troops of slaves dragging a colossal granite statue. This statue probably represented SESORTOSIS II., and from the inscriptions that accompany it we learn that it was intended for the decoration of a palace built by this monarch on the opposite (western) bank of the Nile, which was named *the Sesortoseum*. The reign of SESORTOSIS II. is put down in the

* A copy of this scene, very superior to any hitherto published, will be found in the splendid work of Lepsius (Abt. ii. bl. 133).

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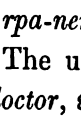
lists as having lasted for forty-eight years. There is no monumental evidence of any such duration. He seems to have died early, and to have left no family. His successor is generally supposed to have been his brother, and the father of the boy AMENEMES, who had been made viceroy of Memphis on his accession. It seems probable that the two brothers were both made co-regent in all Egypt on the death of their father.

SESORTOSIS III.

The Lower Egyptian name of this king, like that of his co-regent and brother, , "festival of dedications to the sun," merely commemorates the festival on which, probably, he was born. Like him also he took the second name of his grandfather. He survived his brother many years. Very shortly after his death SESORTOSIS III. seems to have associated the prince AMENEMES, the viceroy of Memphis, with himself on the throne. He had then no other son capable of fulfilling the important functions of the vacant office; he, therefore, made one of the nobles of his court the viceroy of Memphis,  , *rpa-nentf*, lit., "the physician viceroy."* The use of this epithet *rpa*, Heb. רפא, *doctor*, as an honorific title, is so strictly confined to the kings of the 12th dynasty, we are so absolutely without a solitary example of its employment with this sense at any other epoch whatever,† that it is impossible to conceive of a stronger

* This viceroy must have been of the royal family, or he could not have enclosed his name in the ring of MENES.

† Save on one or two rare occasions, where it is assumed by the

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proof than this of the correctness of our interpretation of the Chamber of Karnak. The second and third planes facing to the left, B and C of our diagram, were certainly cotemporaneous, for immediately above SESORTOSIS III. of the 12th dynasty (B 12), sits a viceroy (C 13), having a title the use of which is closely restricted to the 12th dynasty only.

The character of SESORTOSIS III., as recorded on the monuments, is strongly and boldly contrasted with that of his brother and co-regent. In him the warlike propensities of his ancestry seem to have been concentred. He zealously and vigorously prosecuted the war against the Cushites, expelling them from fortress after fortress, and extending the borders of Upper Nubia to the extreme southern limit to which this dependency of Egypt ever attained. Most probably he was killed in some battle fought against the Ethiopians at Semneh, which is close to the southern boundary of Nubia, and was buried there. A temple to him was afterwards erected over his tomb by his descendant THOTHMOSIS of the 18th dynasty. The reliefs and inscriptions which cover its walls, and which are of very fine execution, inaugurate him formally as the tutelary god of the locality, and associate with him in worship an impersonation of the Upper or Southern Region, which they make his goddess. This extraordinary apotheosis, of which there is no other known example, would scarcely have been conferred

viceroys of Nubia of later epochs (*Archæologia Birch Hist.*, tab. of RAMSES II.). In Egypt Proper it became the title of those employed in the healing art, which is its literal meaning.

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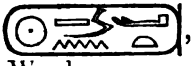
upon SESORTOSIS III. had he not fallen in the field, and in the arms of victory. Semneh is situated considerably to the southward of the second cataract, and upon a rapid where the Nile is contracted to about two-thirds of its ordinary width. This we shall presently find to have been on the great lake or sea of Ethiopia in the days of SESORTOSIS III. At Kummeh, on the opposite bank, at Maschahit, and at one or two other intermediate points in Nubia, the name of SESORTOSIS III. has also been read. The length of his reign is unknown. One of his tablets at Semneh is dated in his sixteenth year. He is omitted from the Greek lists; probably confused with his brother, co-regent and namesake. The forty-eight years of the lists seem rather to belong to his son and successor, whose history is much more distinctly written both there and on the monuments.

AMENEMES III.

Perhaps there is not to be found in the compass of ancient history a king the annals of whose reign abound with flatter contradictions, or present stranger anomalies than the name that is now before us. He wrote himself in Lower Egypt  , *ra-ntma*, "sun of justice" (*Themis*). We have seen that in Upper Egypt his name was AMENEMES. Amun being supreme god in the latest times of Egypt, there is no room for hesitation in recognizing in his name the AMUNTIMÆUS of the Greek tradition. His name likewise only appears in the Chamber of Karnak as the viceroy of his uncle (C 12) in Lower Egypt, and that of his

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inglorious brother occupies his place in the regular succession of the family there (B 13). It is strongly suggested by this circumstance that some adverse event had occurred in his reign, which induced the decorators of the Chamber thus to displace him from the kings of Upper Egypt. Accordingly, we find in the Greek tradition, that AMUNTIMÆUS was the king whom SAITES the shepherd expelled from Memphis. But SAITES himself is displaced in the Chamber, as well as his cotemporary, and heads the upper or outer row of the kings of Lower Egypt (D 8), the post that we have already discovered to be assigned there to the conquerors of Memphis. Better or stronger monumental evidence, therefore, could scarcely be adduced that AMENEMES III. was the AMUNTIMÆUS of the Greek historians.

If we now turn to the Greek histories,* we shall find that it was not possible for a more terrible catastrophe to have overtaken a civilized community than befel Egypt in the reign of AMUNTIMÆUS. God was angry against Egypt, it was not known wherefore; and a horde of barbarians† from the east suddenly attacked that frontier of the kingdom, and, meeting with no opposition, obtained possession of it, defeating the armies that were sent against them and taking the Egyptian generals prisoners. At the same time, they sacked and burned the cities, and levelled the temples with the ground. They conducted themselves likewise with the utmost inhumanity towards the inhabitants, slaying the men, and selling the women and children for slaves.

* Josephus against Apion, i. 14. † ἀνθρωποι το γενος ἀσημοι:

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The king or chief of this horde was named SALATIS or SAITES. He reigned at Memphis, but he also constructed a fortified camp, where he kept a vast army on foot at a place called Avaris, in the Sethroite nome, which is on the eastern bank of the Bubastite mouth of the Nile. With this he laid all Egypt under tribute. This *Salatis* died after a reign of nineteen years. He had many successors, and Egypt groaned under this foreign invasion of Canaanite Phenician Shepherds for 511 years.

Let us now seek on the monuments for the memorials of the reign of the unhappy king who underwent these terrible reverses. Our surprise is not to be concealed. AMENEMES III., or AMUNTIMÆUS, was the most munificent and successful monarch whose history has yet been presented to us by them.

His memorials are spread over a wider range of country and are inscribed on statelier monuments than those of any of his predecessors. His reign was a long one. Tablets are still extant which were engraven in the 40th, the 42nd, and the 43rd years of it. If the indication of the monuments is in any degree to be relied on, it was likewise pre-eminently prosperous. His conquests in war extended the borders of his kingdom to the utmost limits of all that had ever been called Egypt, both to the southward and the eastward. He maintained the outposts of his father at Semneh, on the debouchure of the great Lake of Ethiopia. The granites of Syene, the sandstone of El Kab, the porphyries of El Hamamat, the gold, the emerald, and the copper mines of Meghara and Sarabout el Qadim,

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on the coast of the gulf of Suez, were all extensively worked by prisoners of war in the reign of AMUNTIMÆUS. His works of peace were on a similar scale of magnificence. He built at Howara, in the Faioum, the gorgeous palace known to the Greeks as the *Labyrinth*, concerning which Herodotus* tells us that was a greater wonder than the pyramids; leaving us assuredly to infer that it far surpassed all that he had seen at Heliopolis, or Memphis, or any other city of Egypt he had visited. Its ruins, which have been entirely disinterred by Dr. Lepsius within these few years, bear out completely the account of the father of history. It was a suite of vast halls, such as no other building on the earth can parallel. The investigation has also elicited the fact that from its corner-stone to its head-stone it was altogether the work of AMUNTIMÆUS. Yet, assuredly it was during the reign of this monarch that Memphis was taken by SALATIS the shepherd.

Our surprise and perplexity will experience no diminution when we proceed to examine the name of SALATIS.

He was not only a native Pharaoh, but the native Pharaoh, the rightful heir to the throne, the descendant from MENES in the direct line. He was, in a word, the Heracleopolitan or Sebennyte king of Lower Egypt, the son of the last monarch of the 10th dynasty, who, as we explained, reigned in the Delta cotemporaneously with the 12th dynasty.

We have, at length, found the key to the whole mystery of the shepherd invasion. It is a gross fabrication. It is the narrative of an adverse event by the defeated faction,

* ii. 148.

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wherein the conquerors are made as hateful as possible to the reader. It is a precious piece of partizan writing, like the history of our commonwealth by a cavalier, or the account of a tory administration of the last century from the pen of a whig. We must, therefore, endeavour to get at the truth by comparing it with the indications of the monuments.

The circumstances of the case are by no means hard to understand.

While the Diopolitan Pharaohs of the 12th dynasty were, as we have seen, occupying themselves chiefly with the improvement of the fertility of the Faioum and the lands adjacent to the canal they had conducted thither, and with the extension by conquest of the southern border of Egypt, it would be a consequence absolutely inevitable at this early time that their northern border would be comparatively neglected. Memphis we find to have been governed by viceroys, and in every instance wherein we are able to identify them, they prove to have been very young princes, and, therefore, equally inexperienced in the arts of government and defence.

At the same time, the Heracleopolitan or Sebennyte Pharaohs in the Delta were gradually recovering themselves from the state of deep depression in which we left them at the end of the last volume. At the commencement of the 12th dynasty this prostration seems to have been at the lowest. Heliopolis as well as Memphis was in the possession of their rivals, and the first AMENEMES and SESORTOSIS ransacked the shrines and remaining Busirides of the Delta at their pleasure,

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making with the spoils thereof new gods and unions of gods as their fancy or their policy dictated. It was, doubtless, by them that the mummy of Osiris was completed at Abydos, and thereby his worship concentred in that city for all Egypt. As, however, the 12th dynasty proceeded, their power in the Delta visibly diminished. We hear no more of mythic changes indicated by their royal names. Heliopolis also seems to have been lost to Upper Egypt on the demise of SESORTOSIS. None of his immediate successors have inscribed their names there. The decline of their power in Lower Egypt is clearly indicated hereby, and we have found the sufficient cause of this diminution.

The Sebennyte Pharaohs in the meanwhile were not merely recovering gradually the ground whence they had retreated, but also strengthening themselves for aggression upon their conquerors by the careful development of the productive powers of their territory. They likewise encouraged liberally the immigration and settlement in the Delta of the Canaanite traders and shepherd rangers of the desert of Suez, making treaties of amity with their petty kings and princes, and even forming matrimonial alliances with them, as MENES himself had done with the Phutite princess whose father he had dispossessed of the site of Memphis. By the steady pursuit of this policy, the clear indications of which will abundantly appear hereafter, the Sebennyte Pharaohs had grown once more into strong and formidable potentates in the course of the century that has elapsed since they last came under our notice.*

* Vol. i. p. 359.

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It does not appear that any war actually broke out between the two rival pretensions in the course of this interval. The indignities, however, committed by AMENEMES and his son upon the shrines of Amun and Neith, and upon all the remaining Busirides, would excite a deep feeling of indignation and smothered resentment, not only among the subjects of the Sebennyte Pharaohs, but in the breasts of the inhabitants of the whole of the north of Egypt. The capture of Memphis, then, by SAITES (in whatever part of the reign of AMUNTIMÆUS it occurred) was an outburst of popular feeling long suppressed. It was an act of vengeance, in which all Lower Egypt joined, against the representatives of those who had profaned their local gods and outraged their sense of religion. Such we have found and shall find to be the characteristic of all the wars of Ancient Egypt.

Our proof that we are correctly interpreting the narrative of the first invasion of the shepherds is absolutely unassailable. Every step of our inquiry into this hitherto most unintelligible portion of the history of ancient Egypt will contribute to its confirmation.

The year of AMUNTIMÆUS in which Memphis was taken by SAITES is altogether unknown, and as subsequent events furnish the only data on which our conjectures must be founded, we defer the inquiry until their history is before the reader.

We now proceed to fill up, as far as practicable, our outline of the prosperous reign of AMENEMES III. He must have had at his command a larger amount of forced labour than any of his predecessors; whence we

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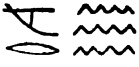
infer that his wars with the Cushites were eminently successful. His works in the Faioum were of a character which threw into the shade the constructions of all the kings that went before him. It may have been observed in the course of this our history, that each successive group or dynasty of kings seems to have devoted its energies in the internal development of the kingdom, principally in one place; MENES, for example, to Memphis, the 4th dynasty to the district north of it, and the 5th to that to the southward. In the same manner the monarchs of the 12th dynasty concentrated their efforts on the Faioum.

The great work of AMENEMES III. in this singular valley was the commencement of a vast tank or artificial lake at the termination of "the great canal of the eagle," which was completed afterwards by one of the Pharaohs of the rival pretension, as we shall presently see. The object of this stupendous work was to prevent the disasters arising from irregularities in the annual overflow, by receiving the waters of a superfluous inundation, and by supplying the defects of a failing one.

The LABYRINTH which we have already mentioned was a group of palaces in the immediate vicinity of this artificial lake, which was called by the Greeks the lake *Mœris*.* Of this great work Herodotus speaks in terms of enthusiastic eulogy into which he is seldom betrayed. It far surpassed the report he had heard of it. Nay, it was a more costly structure than any

* A word supposed by Lepsius to be derived from the Egyptian word  *mri*, Coptic ⲙⲏⲣⲉ, "overflow." Its real meaning will afterwards appear.

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that had been raised by the Greeks, even than the noted temples of Ephesus and Samos. The pyramids surpassed these, but the Labyrinth was a greater work than the pyramids. It consisted of twelve hypostyle halls with their propyla or porches standing opposite to one another; six facing the north, and six facing the south. Beneath and above these were 3000 lesser halls or chambers, 1500 in each suite of palaces. Many of these upper chambers were explored by the traveller. He wished also to be shown the vaults beneath, but the custodes would on no account permit it, on the plea that the treasures of the kings who had built the Labyrinth, as well as of the sacred crocodiles, were deposited there. Those, however, that he saw, surpassed all the works of man that he had looked upon before. The walls, inside and out, both of the hall and corridors, covered with pictures in coloured relief, and with explanatory texts in hieroglyphics, are praised by him in language whence we may, at any rate, conclusively infer, that which also follows clearly enough from other passages of his account of Egypt, namely, that he did not visit Thebes. A colonnade of pillars of white stone, very beautifully proportioned, surrounded each palace. At one corner of the enclosure around the Labyrinth was a pyramid of forty fathoms (*i.e.*, more than eighty yards) square, inscribed with very large hieroglyphics. A subterranean passage led from the Labyrinth to the pyramid.*

The ruins of this vast construction have been known for some years. They are in the immediate vicinity

* Herod. ii. c. 148.

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of the remains of the artificial lake we have already mentioned. Its modern name is Howara. Fragments of the columns of white stone mentioned by the father of history were still to be seen among the ruins twenty years ago.* Since that time very extensive excavations have been made at Howara by the Prussian expedition, under Lepsius. The clearing from the sand, of the walls of many hundreds of vast square vaults arranged in three masses of regular construction, has borne ample testimony to the general accuracy of the account of Herodotus. These are the vaults in the basement story beneath the pillars of the hypostyle halls. All the rest have disappeared. A canal passes through the midst of these ruins. Lepsius supposes it to be a modern work of the Arabs. We rather think otherwise. It would better comport both with the customs of Ancient Egypt, and with the account of Herodotus, to assume that the canal of the Faioum originally traversed the precinct of the Labyrinth, and that the two ranges of palaces were built on its opposite banks.†

The pyramid also still remains. It is of unbaked brick; but there are visible remains of a casing of hewn stone, on which, doubtless, were engraven the great hieroglyphics mentioned by Herodotus. In front of the pyramid was the usual temple, the remaining fragments of which show it to have been highly adorned with hieroglyphs, reliefs, and architectural decorations.

The most important result, however, of the researches of Lepsius at Howara remain to be detailed. He found in many places inscribed on the stones and bricks both

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 355. † Vorläuf Nach. p. 6.

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of the vaults and of the pyramid, the name of the founder of these magnificent constructions. It is that of AMENEMES III., as our readers are already aware. In remarkable coincidence with this discovery, the corresponding name in the list* is written in different copies, LACHARES, LAMARES, and LAMPARES; all evident corruptions of LABARES, allied to the Greek word λαβυρινθος. The ruins of Howara are, therefore, hereby restored to certain history. They were the work of a Pharaoh of the 12th dynasty.†

The younger brother of AMENEMES III., who took his name with but a single slight modification, seems to have sat with him on the throne of all Egypt from a very early period of his reign. Several tablets are yet extant, on which they appear as co-regents. In the Chamber of Karnak, however, the name of this younger brother occurs in an association which plainly shows, that when he succeeded his brother, the so-called Shepherd Kingdom had commenced (B 13, C 14): so that his history evidently belongs to the following chapter.

The illustrious line of kings whose history we have now brought to its close were no mean benefactors to Egypt. The success of their arms carried the borders of Egypt and her dependencies to the utmost limits to which they ever attained to the southward and eastward. Their internal works of utility added the

* Above, p. 13.

† "Λαβυρινθος was in all probability a Greek word, denoting a building full of intricate passages" (*Liddell and Scott*). In this case LABARES was merely a title invented by the Greek transcriber of the lists for the builder of the Labyrinth.

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Faioum, the most fertile spot of the earth, to the productive surface of their country. Their gorgeous palaces and tombs attest to this day their magnificence, and the perfection of the arts in their days. While, upon their admirable reforms of the calendar and the computation of time, even the exactitudes of modern science have but slightly improved.

The prosperity which this great and glorious race of monarchs conferred upon Egypt, experienced but a slight interruption from the civil reverses which they experienced, and whereby their descendants were for a time dispossessed of Egypt Proper. Strangely as the statement may differ from the Greek histories, we shall find it, nevertheless, to be perfectly confirmed by the monuments.

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CHAPTER II.

THE (SO-CALLED) SHEPHERD KINGDOM.

THE SHEPHERD INVASION.—DYNASTIES 13TH TO 17TH INCLUSIVE.—THE LISTS OF THEM.—MANY FRAUDULENT ENTRIES.—PROOFS THAT THE SHEPHERD-KINGS WERE NATIVE PHARAOHS.—DESTRUCTION OF THEIR MONUMENTS.—THE SHEPHERDS AT KARNAK.—OTHOES, SAITES.—CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE SHEPHERD INVASION.—COMPLETION OF THE MUMMY OF OSIRIS.—ALL THE DEAD BURIED AT ABYDOS.—THE REASONS OF IT.—CAPTURE OF ABYDOS BY SAITES.—SAITES CHANGED HIS NAME. —EXPLANATION OF THE TABLET OF ABYDOS.—REIGN OF SAITES.—MERIS A CANAANITE.—BIRTH OF APHOPHIS THE YEAR MEMPHIS WAS TAKEN.—MERIS A MUNIFICENT KING.—HIS CONSTRUCTIONS.—THE PRINCESS SKENIOPHRIS.—THE LAST OF THE 12TH DYNASTY.—MONUMENTS OF MERIS ALL DESTROYED.—CO-REGENT ALL HIS REIGN WITH HIS FATHER AND SON.—PHIOPS OR APHOPHIS.—MONUMENTS OF HIS REIGN MUTILATED.—THE PATRON OF JOSEPH.—GAVE ITS NAME TO MEMPHIS.—HIS EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL POLICY.—MELANERES.—KING OF UPPER EGYPT ONLY.—CEMETERY AT MEMPHIS REGAINED ITS SANCTITY.—JANNES. ASSES.—MONUMENTS OF HIS EPOCH.

WE are now arrived at that part of our inquiry in which our conclusions are totally different from those of all who have preceded us. By no student of the history of Ancient Egypt has the uniform statement of the Greek historians, that the expellers of AMUNTIMÆUS from Memphis were Phenician shepherds and foreigners, ever yet been called in question.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon us very carefully to

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lay down, in this place, the whole of the reasons which have constrained us to take so bold a step as to set forth a conclusion in the very teeth of all authority, both ancient and modern. We have no fear of the result with our readers.

The account of the shepherd invasion, preserved by Josephus from the histories of Manetho, we have already quoted. His lists of kings for the same period, that which succeeded the 12th dynasty, we now proceed to examine. They are our one remaining authority for this part of the history of Egypt.

DYNASTY XIII. 60 Diopolitan (Theban) kings reigned 453 years.
DYNASTY XIV. 76 Xoite kings..... „ 484 „

The city of Xois was situated in the centre of the Delta* (*See Map*).

DYNASTY XV. 6 Shepherd kings reigned 284 years.

They were Phenician strangers. They took Memphis. They likewise built a city in the Sethroite nome, whence they sallied forth and oppressed the Egyptians. These kings were named as follows:

		Years of Reign.
1	SAITES. The Saitic nome was named after him. He added the five days of the epact to the calendar.....	19
2	BENON.....	44
3	PACHNAN.....	61
4	STAN	50
5	APHOPHIS. In his reign Joseph ruled in Egypt. All the authorities are agreed upon this †	61
6	IANNES	50
7	ASSES. He added a half-day to each month of the year	49

* Champollion—*Egypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. ii. 211.
† *Sync.* p. 61.

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DYNASTY XVI 32 other Shepherd-kings reigned 518 years.

DYNASTY XVII. { 43 other Shepherd-kings. / 43 Theban kings.

The Shepherds and the Thebans reigned together 151 years.

There are many circumstances which render this passage suspicious, to say the least; even if we choose to forget all that we have learned from our examination of the former portions of the same register.

I. By this authority more than 2000 years elapsed between the 12th and 18th dynasties; and above 150 kings reigned in Egypt in the course of it. But, if we turn to the monuments, we can find no single trace of any such duration; and as to the kings, it is with difficulty that the existence of any of them can be identified. According to the Chamber of Karnak, there may have been 8 to 10 obscure successions of kings reigning together, in Upper and Lower Egypt, in this interval. According to the tablet of Abydos, the 12th dynasty was immediately followed by the 18th.

This is assuredly a very suspicious circumstance, even were we now, for the first time, giving attention to the lists. Our experience, however, of the former portions of them does not permit us to doubt for one moment that the usual advantage has been taken here of a time of civil broil and disputed succession, by the transcribers of them in later epochs; and that the great bulk of the entries of numbers, in this part of the lists, consists of fraudulent exaggerations.

II. Let us now compare together the history of the

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Shepherd invasion in the lists, and in the narrative quoted by Josephus.

These two versions contradict each other in some points. In others they contradict themselves. The lists say that these kings were foreigners and Phenician shepherds. The history says nothing of the kind; but clearly leaves us to infer that they were Egyptians, whose family had not before sat on the throne of Memphis. The Christian chronographers who compiled the lists have been misled on this point by Josephus, the Jew, who quotes the history. He had a favourite notion that this dynasty of kings was a Jewish family; and, therefore, he translated the epithet, ἱκσως, which was applied to them in the temple records, "shepherd-kings," because his forefathers, who came into Egypt, were shepherds. But this was merely an accommodative rendering for the convenience of his own theory. The word really means "a vile [ignominious] king," if its import in the language of Ancient Egypt is at all to be considered.*

One consideration will suffice to establish the fabulous character of this narrative. These strangers were a race of barbarians. Yet the conqueror of AMUNTIMÆUS was also the reclaimer of the Saites nome, and the founder of a dynasty of six successive kings with remarkably long reigns; one of the succession being the

* ϩϣϣϥ, "ignominy, vileness," was the primitive meaning of the word. The secondary import was "shepherd." The foreign allies of this dynasty were called "cattle-feeders" in the hieroglyphic texts, but not the kings. The Jewish writers confused this distinction.

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patron of Joseph, under whom Egypt enjoyed unexampled prosperity.

The same authorities also ascribe the final reform of the calendar to this race of barbarians. APHOPHIS added the 5 days of the epact to the year; and ASSES brought it still nearer to exactitude by the addition of half a day at the end of each month, which is the nearest approach to true time that it is possible to make with months of uniform length. Here, then, was progressive improvement, in the most difficult of all questions, effected for Egypt by these foreign barbarians. The impossibilities which are involved here are very palpable.

III. The names applied to those so-called shepherd-kings are well worthy of attention. They are all paronamastic perversions of real names into opprobrious epithets or nicknames.

SAITES (as the conqueror of Memphis is called in the the lists) means "worshipper of Seth," the author of evil.

SALATIS (as the same person is named in the history) means "a multiplier of lies," "a great liar;" σολ, "lie;" ατα, "many."

BNON, or BEON, means "a filthy fellow;" βωνε, "filthy."

APACHNAS, or PACHNAN, means "a bond-slave" of a low order, or "convict;" חפשן, "to be a slave."

STAN, if it has been rightly transcribed, was, most probably, "Satan," or "Sathanas."

JANNES, or ANAN, means "an unmanly [effeminate] fellow," "a coward;" ανανι, ανονι, "soft," "luxurious."

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ARCHLES means "a foul-mouthed fellow," "an utterer of filthy language;" ⲁⲣⲕⲉ, "to scold;" ⲗⲉⲥ, "tongue."

APHOPHIS means "*hastatus*," "*magnum habens virile.*"

ASSES means "a low [disgraced] fellow," "one that is often beaten." Coptic, ⲁⲁⲥ, "to beat," "slap." The same name, borne by an earlier king, is written *Akes*.

We are compelled to remark that all this looks very like a jest, invented about the times of Josephus; and passed off upon him, and the rest of the Jews, for the purpose of mortifying them, and amusing the Egyptians and Greeks, in their endless wranglings together in the noisy porches and groves of Alexandria. Both the Jews and Christians of those times were sadly to seek in all learning out of the pale of their sacred books; and were, therefore, easily imposed upon. If such were really the case, the jest was but a scurvy one. It displays the malice of its inventors far more than their wit. The circumstance is, nevertheless, highly instructive, as an indication of the bitter, rancorous spirit in which the keepers of the archives of Egypt wrote the history of this hated race.

IV. We have explained that these names were real names, perverted or distorted into burlesque or opprobrious epithets. There must have been considerable ingenuity exercised in so framing the nickname that the original is still visible beneath it. The identification of several of them with their hieroglyphic transcriptions on the monuments is quite as satisfactory as any that have hitherto occurred to us in the course of our inquiry. The exact coincidence of the name

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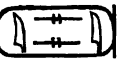
with APHOPHIS, and of  with ASSES we ourselves pointed out many years ago. A third name also bears a resemblance just as indubitable to JANNES.* These hieroglyphic names all belong to the same group, and are evidently those of kings reigning in near succession to each other.

V. The places in which these names are found is another point which will further strengthen our proof that the so-called Shepherd-kings were really the native Pharaohs of Lower Egypt.

The locality where they principally occur in Egypt itself will first require our attention. The mountains or cliffs of limestone which hem in the valley of the Nile to the eastward approach very near the river throughout Middle Egypt. At many points they rise perpendicularly from the water's edge, and to the apparent height of some hundreds of feet. Between the modern cities of Benisoueff and Keneh, a distance of more than 200 miles, these cliffs are all but everywhere perforated, or rather honey-combed, with artificial excavations. The amount of human labour which has been expended upon them is wonderful, even in Egypt. Some of these grottoes have been evidently quarries, but the great majority of them were tombs. We do not state this fact without having ascertained it by careful examination at many points. All the legible tombs in this vast range of cemeteries (unparalleled in the world), are of the epoch of the dynasty of hitherto unplaced kings upon which we are now engaged, except

* Mr. R. S. Pool was the discoverer of this name.

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at two points. These points are Beni-hassan and Bersheh, just in the centre of the entire range, where the beautiful memorials of the Pharaohs of the 12th dynasty have already occupied so much of our attention.

The group of sepulchres at Beni-hassan differs from the innumerable tombs in the same range of mountains for many miles to the north and to the south of it in another very remarkable particular, also equally momentous to the history of Egypt. While the grottoes of Beni-hassan are perfect and untouched, save by the hand of modern barbarism, all the tombs belonging to the rival dynasty have been purposely mutilated, and at a very ancient period. The labour that must have been expended in this mutilation approaches that of the original construction, so carefully has the entire casing of the vaults been chipped off. We noticed one a little to the southward of Melawi, at a point called Bar-bar by the Arab guide, which appeared at first to be a quarry, so determinedly had the work of destruction been carried on. The circumstance, however, that the vast massives that supported the roof all stood in lines, and at perfectly regular intervals, exposed the misapprehension. It had been a gorgeous vault of stupendous and admirable proportions, unequalled by any that now exist, even in the tombs of the kings at Thebes. The mutilation had gone so far, that the whole side on the face of the cliff had been hewn out, and huge scales had been chiselled off the massives so as to leave them as rough and irregular as possible. This was also the case with the walls. We left it with the persuasion that it had been the tomb of a king.

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On the floor of it, as of other tombs in the range, we picked up fragments on which the remains of hieroglyphics were yet traceable.

At five known points in this vast series of vaults a few tombs have escaped, as it would seem, because the accuracy with which they had been closed concealed them long enough to allow the religious animosity in which this wholesale destruction must have originated to pass away. They are, commencing from the north, Souarieh, Souat el Meitun, and Koum Ahmar, to the north of Beni-hassan; and to the southward of it, Schech Zaid and Chenoboskion.* At all these localities are found the tombs of princes attached to the courts of the dynasty of which the three names we have identified as those of Shepherd-kings form a part.

It is very apparent that a religious animosity has been the motive for the wholesale destruction of the memorials of this line of Pharaohs. Accordingly, in the Greek tradition, this same succession of kings (three of whose names in hieroglyphics we have already identified) is branded with the opprobrious epithets of *shepherds* and *foreigners*.

VI. Our last and strongest evidence is yet to come. It is, we need scarcely say, the Chamber of Karnak, that noble monument which has guided us hitherto with such admirable precision through the intricacies of this long succession. We have already established so completely the co-regency of its upper and lower groups of kings, that there is no further occasion for insisting upon it.

* See Map.

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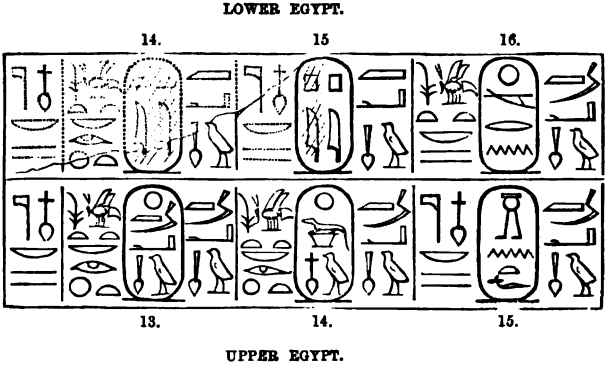
The co-regencies of the three successors of AMUN-TIMÆUS stand thus:



This entry makes it perfectly clear that the Upper Egyptian Pharaohs no longer governed Memphis by viceroys at this epoch. It is equally apparent that the independent monarchs who had there the sovereignty of Memphis were kings of the line of MENES, and that THOTHMOSIS the constructer of the Chamber was proud to enroll them among his ancestry. Yet were both these Pharaohs Shepherd-kings according to the Greek lists. C 15 is APHOPHIS, as our readers will perceive, and there never was but one monarch of this name, if the authority of the monuments is to be received. C 14 we shall presently find to be OTHOES, his great-grandfather.

The proof, therefore, that the Shepherd invasion was a slanderous perversion of the conquest of Memphis by the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs is, we submit, very complete.

We will now resume the history of the period before us, which has undergone a change in its great features,

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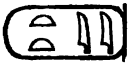
the nature of which it is very important that our readers should clearly understand.

The truce between the rival sons of MENES in Upper and Lower Egypt is now at end. The Sebennyte or Lower Egyptian Pharaohs, have rudely broken it by a sudden invasion of the territory of the opposite faction. It was pre-eminently successful. Upper Egypt was dispossessed of Memphis and of the whole of Egypt to the north of it by SAITES. The kings thereof from that time, and during the whole epoch now before us, entirely lost the ascendency in the kingdom which they had enjoyed in the former period. Far from ruling Memphis by a viceroy, they became at least as obscure as their rivals had been at Sebennytus in the days of their prosperity. The history of that rivalry will first require our attention.

THE LOWER EGYPTIAN PHARAOHS, OR SHEPHERD-KINGS.



OTHOES. The position of this king in the Chamber of Karnak (C 14) shows him to have been the father of SAITES. He takes the place of his son in the succession of the Memphite kings, while his son sits in the honourable post assigned throughout the Chamber to the conquerors of Memphis (D 8). We have already noticed an exactly similar interchange between AMENEMES (B 8) and his son (A 9). We shall find this indication fully borne out by all our remaining authorities.

In the lists his name appears at the head both of the 5th and 6th dynasties in the copies of Eusebius and

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Africanus. It is written OTHOES. The strange embroglio in the list of the latter dynasty we have described in its place,* and there given the only account of it which seems to meet all the exigencies of the case. OTHOES is made the head of a dynasty in both the entries of his name, as we have seen. In both also APHOPHIS follows him, under the name of PHIOPS. No pun upon the name of OTHOES, moreover, appears in the list of the Shepherd-kings. These circumstances we submit sufficiently confirm the indications of the Chamber of Karnak. OTHOES was the last of the Heracleopolitan or Sebennyte Pharaohs of the 10th dynasty, the father of SAITES, and, by consequence, the founder of the Shepherd dynasty, which, by some inexplicable confusion, appears as the 15th, 16th, or 17th dynasty of the different copies of the lists.

The monumental history of OTHOES, though scanty, is, nevertheless, altogether confirmatory of the history we have gathered from other sources. He was a benefactor to his country. He strenuously promoted the internal improvements which rescued his hereditary dominions from the deep depression into which they had fallen. For this purpose he quarried largely the granites and porphyries of El Hamamat, and even the sandstone of El Kab. In both localities the records of his operations are numerous. He followed herein the footsteps of his probably near predecessor IMEPHTHIS.† All his constructions seem to have perished by the fanaticism of the rival faction, with the exception of a single fragment of a tomb at Sakkarah which is

* Vol. i. c. vii. p. 352. † *u. s.* vol. i. p. 358.

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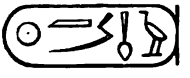
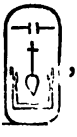
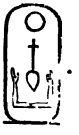
inscribed with his name; fully confirming our interpretation of his position in the Chamber of Karnak.

In this tomb at Sakkarah* OTHOES has the title "the constructer of firm buildings, and of a pyramid." It may be inferred from hence that he had somewhere or other in Egypt distinguished himself for great constructions. The mounds of Sais are as yet deeply buried in sand. When the government of England, or some wealthier or more influential or more willing government, shall disinter them, we shall probably be better able to write the monumental history of OTHOES.

OTHOES is said in the lists to have been assassinated by his own guards, after a reign of 30 years. According to the invariable custom of the Pharaohs of his times, his son SAITES was for many years of it associated with him on the throne. The capture of Memphis took place during the lifetime of OTHOES.

 The king of Upper Egypt at this time was AMENEMES IV. according to the Chamber of Karnak (B 13). But the entry is merely made to avoid the insertion of the name of AMUNTIMÆUS in the list of the kings of Upper Egypt. This monarch, nevertheless, survived his brother, who seems to have deceased shortly after the fall of Memphis.

SAITES  , afterwards  .

Notwithstanding the obloquy which the priests of

* Leps. Mon. Abt. ii. bl. 116 c. The stone is now in the Berlin Museum.

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after times heaped upon the memory of this monarch, he is one of the heroes of our monumental history. We have seen the high post assigned to him in the Chamber of Karnak (D 1). He occupies the same position on the tablet of Abydos. The order of succession has been disregarded that the name of SAITES may stand in the post of honour at the head of his race. He was, therefore, held in high esteem by THOTHMOSIS and SESOSTRIS RAMSES, the constructers of these monuments, and the two greatest kings of Egypt. The religious animosity against him and his race, had subsided in the days of these illustrious Pharaohs. It revived again after their times. The causes both of its subsidence and revival will appear in the course of our inquiry.

It cannot be too often repeated, that the feud between SAITES, in Lower Egypt, and AMUNTIMÆUS, in Upper Egypt, was altogether religious. SAITES headed the sect, or faction, who had from the very beginning resisted the changes of MENCHERES, and his aggressions upon the Busirides of Lower Egypt and the Delta.* Their unsuccessful resistance to these reforms procured for them, in the Greek tradition, the epithet of Typhonians. So utter was the discomfiture of the adherents to the old religion, that they dwindled into a small and powerless *nomarchy* at Sebennytus, in the north-east of the Delta.

Meanwhile, the Mencherian faction pursued vigorously the aggressive policy of their founder. The successive monarchs of the 11th dynasty, and the first

* Vol. i. pp. 332, *seq.*

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two of the 12th, seem to have vied with each other in acts of spoliation, committed upon the primitive temples of the Delta, until scarcely a shrine there remained unspoiled of the most precious relics of its god. Far from being able to offer any resistance, the Sebennyte Pharaohs were seemingly glad to save themselves from utter extermination at the price of the statue or relic of the temple of their own nome. All this has likewise already been explained.

This policy of the Upper Egyptian kings, however conducive to the future consolidation of the kingdom, was by no means equally so to its present peace. A deep feeling of resentment against the perpetrators of these successive acts of outrage against their sense of religion possessed the entire population of Lower Egypt and the Delta. This feeling seems to have been exasperated to its height when the son of AMENEMES forced the filthy idol of Coptos upon the shrine of Neith, at Sais. A tumult in Lower Egypt, repressed with difficulty, if not a civil war, was certainly the consequence of this insolent outrage. The tendency of all this would inevitably be to excite in the whole of that part of Egypt a deep sympathy with the Sebennyte Pharaohs, large emigrations from the adjoining districts into their territories, and doubtless extensive defections and revolts in Lower Egypt from the Upper Egyptian yoke; so that the power, the influence, and territories of these monarchs would rapidly increase. The monumental evidence of this change is very decided, though, of course, indirect. SESORTOSIS himself endeavoured to propitiate the idol he had degraded and insulted, by

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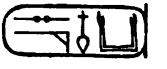
dedicating to him his new conquest at Wady Halfa.* Some token of his divine displeasure, in the form of a loss of territory on his northern border, was all but certainly the real motive of this strange act. Accordingly, the name of SESORTOSIS is the only one of the 12th dynasty that occurs on the remains of Heliopolis. It is also the last name of his race that commemorates a forced and insulting change in the mythology of Egypt. For in his reign Heliopolis revolted, and joined the Sebennyte Pharaohs. His successors seem to have ascribed this untoward event to the anger of Re Athom, the local god of Heliopolis; and, therefore, their names commemorate their endeavours to propitiate him, by offerings of gold and other acts of devotion.

The appearance at the quarries of the names of IMEPHTHIS and OTHOES, who, probably enough, were father and son, is the unequivocal proof of a corresponding advance in the Sebennyte Pharaohs, and of their resumption of the aggressive against their conquerors.

It has appeared, therefore, that the motive of the war had been long cherished; that the subjects of the Mencherian Pharaohs joined the invaders; and that the fall of Memphis was an event as sudden as unexpected on the part of the Theban kings, and attended with as little trouble to the conquerors as the Greek legends represent it to have been.

The name of the conqueror was a *nom-de-guerre* in the strictest sense. It was his  war-cry. It meant "good [fair] is the form of Sa." To

* Above, p. 20.

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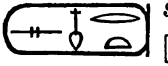
avenge the foul insult committed against the shrine of Neith by the son of AMENEMES was the professed object of his invasion of the Upper Egyptian territory. Yet, strange to tell, he achieves his conquest in the name of the very idol whose introduction had constituted the insult! It was an absolute canon of this idolatry, that what had been, under any pretext, or with whatever motive, once consecrated to religion, could never be removed, or applied to profane uses afterwards.* The form of the idol Sa was an insult to Neith and to public decency. The symbol wherewith his name was written was applied to it in derision. Both had, nevertheless, been duly enshrined and consecrated; and, therefore, the vengeance upon the perpetrator must be undertaken in his name, and in vindication of his very form. Therefore it was that the conqueror had taken at the outset of the war the name of SAITES; upon which the religious rancour of long-succeeding times invented a far from brilliant perversion  *s-l-t*, SALATIS, writing the epithet, *nfr*, ["fair"] in the feminine gender derisively.

SAITES was a politic and energetic ruler. This appears even in the distorted travestie in which he is represented as a foreign invader. He built a *parembolé* on his north-eastern frontier, where he encamped a vast army, to defend Egypt against the Canaanites and Assyrians; hereby avoiding the mistake into which his rival had fallen in regard of this border of his dominions.

The conquest of Memphis certainly took place late in

* The Biblical student will here doubtless call to mind the censers of Nadab and Abihu (Numb. xvi. 36—40).

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the reign of AMUNTIMÆUS. How long he survived it is not known. He may have perished in the defence. He, or his brother and co-regent, AMENEMES IV. (possibly both), made peace with the conqueror. There is no monumental evidence that it was violated during the lifetime of either. The Upper Egyptian Pharaohs reigned at Coptos and Crocodilopolis; while OTHOES and SAITES kept their regal state alternately at Heliopolis and Memphis; both of which they seem to have greatly decorated, so that they began once more to assume the rank of royal cities, from which they had been degraded by the disasters attendant upon the wars of MENCHERES. It will sufficiently appear from hence, that the conquest of Memphis was a far greater misfortune to the Upper Egyptian crown than to the kingdom in general. It may even be doubted whether it was not a signal benefit to Egypt.

The war between the two pretensions seems to have broken out again immediately on the death of AMENEMES IV.

The plunder of the whole of the Busirides of the Delta had been accomplished, and the reconstruction of the mummy of Osiris (if it ever took place) was completed by AMENEMES and his son. This is clearly to be inferred from the evidence of the monuments. On those of their epoch Osiris is first invoked under the double epithet of *i.e.*, "Osiris, lord of the city of Touth [construction] in the west, great god of the city of *Abydos* [the resurrection]."* This title, we

* Touth, Coptic ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ, "construct," was the place in which

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repeat it, first appears on the remains of the reign of SESORTOSIS,* and is absolutely universal on those of all subsequent epochs. It would seem very evidently to follow from hence, that in the reign of SESORTOSIS, the son of AMENEMES, the mummy of Osiris was first reconstructed, and his worship permanently established at Abydos.

Our readers are now well aware that however distasteful the change might be, no innovation upon this strange idolatry could ever again be reversed when once the rites of inauguration had been duly performed upon it. We have seen how deeply the Lower Egyptians resented the plunder of their Busirides, and how, after having cherished their resentments for more than two centuries, they at length took vengeance upon the perpetrators of these sacrileges by expelling them from Memphis, and afterwards, as we shall find, from the whole of Egypt. But, nevertheless, the change was made. The Busirides were all plundered, and the sacredness which the presence of a portion of the real body of the king of the dead had imparted to them was transferred to and concentrated at Abydos. All Egypt acquiesced, the Lower Egyptians as implicitly as their brethren in the Upper country; and from thenceforth, for some centuries, the mummies of all the great men of Egypt, if not of all Egyptians, were carried to Abydos during the process of their mummification.

the mummy of Osiris was actually reconstructed and buried. It was probably some remote locality in the desert westward of Abydos (see vol. i. pp. 328, *seq.*).

* In the tomb of Amunei, or Amenemes, at Beni-hassan.

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This extraordinary custom accounts for the vast city of the dead we have just described, which honey-combs the mountains of Middle Egypt on both banks of the Nile, and to the northward and southward of Abydos. It is quite impossible that any population in the vicinity of the tombs can have required this succession of sepulchres. The valley is here far too narrow, and even if we include the Faioum, there is too little arable land to have allowed of a great number of inhabitants at any time. Their tenants, therefore, must have been brought from considerable distances; from other parts of Egypt better fitted to sustain the vast masses of people that have hewn out for themselves graves in these mountains until they are as if eaten with worms. At the period now before us, every corpse must be brought to Abydos before the, in Ancient Egypt, all-important process of mummification could be completed. There dwelt the professors of the embalmer's art in all its higher branches. Some preparatory process, merely to preserve the body temporarily from putrescence, was the only part of the embalming that was performed in any other city. Thus prepared, it was then put on board one of the sacred boats that passed periodically, and carried to Abydos, certain members of the families of the dead accompanying them. These boats carried at one draught all the dead of the city in the interval from their former visit; in some instances 400 and 600 at a time.* Thus the funeral rites of all Egypt were celebrated at Abydos. The persons employed therein, their paraphernalia, and apparatus, all were there. As

* Tomb of Amunei.

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the city of the king of the dead, as the place where his mutilated corpse had been reconstructed, and in whose limits was the sacred and mysterious though unknown vault in which it was finally deposited, Abydos became the centre of the whole necrology of Egypt.

There was, moreover, another and still more imposing view of the change accomplished by the plunder of the Busirides. The limb or piece of Osiris in each of them had been an earnest and sacred pledge of a future resurrection to all the dead in the cemetery around it. They were assured that it would rise again, for it was a part of him, the father of their race, by whom they had been taught this most consolatory truth. They also believed that by being near his body, they, his children, should rise together with him. But now this their pledge had been removed, and was at Abydos; and, therefore, the tombs of all Egypt clustered round the sacred city. The comparatively small space for grottoes afforded by the limestone knolls immediately adjacent to Abydos was soon fully occupied by the courtiers of AMENEMES and his son, the completers of the mummy of Osiris, and their direct successors of the 12th dynasty. The remains found there abundantly testify to this. So confined was it, however, that even in their days men of renown, like Amunei, and Nahrai, and Thotephthis, were compelled to betake themselves to the rocks on the opposite banks of the river, and there to hew them sepulchres at Beni-hassan and Bersheh, localities, so to speak, in sight of Abydos. At these two points began the vast cemetery which perforates the mountains on both sides the Nile for so

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great a distance in the vicinity of Abydos. The succeeding generation, which is now before us, buried all the dead in Egypt in this range of mountains.

Under these circumstances, the possession of Abydos would, of necessity, be earnestly desired by both the rival kings that at this time pretended to the sovereignty of all Egypt. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the first action of the war that broke out on the death of AMENEMES IV. was the advance of SAITES upon Abydos. He took it without difficulty, for the power and influence of the Mencherian Pharaohs was at this time rapidly declining. Our authority for this historical fact is the tablet of Abydos. On this monument, which we shall find just as essential to the intelligence of the post-pastoral period of Egyptian history, as has been the Chamber of Karnak for that which preceded the Shepherd invasion, the name of SAITES occupies (as we have said) exactly the same honourable post at the head of his race as it does at Karnak.

He is also twice entered in it, like the son of AMENEMES and others at Karnak. In the first entry (No. 26) he appears under the name he assumed at the commencement of the war, *sa-nu-ka-an*, "fair is the form of the weak one, *Sa*." In the other entry, which is likewise honorary, he comes in his place next to MENCHERES, as his direct descendant and representative, which in fact he was. The Upper Egyptian Pharaohs of the 11th and 12th dynasties descended from MENCHERES only collaterally. They are, therefore, in another line. In this last entry (No. 16) is the name

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in which he afterwards governed Egypt, "fair is the form of *Re* [the sun]." The matter of *Sa*, therefore, seems to have been altogether settled by the conquest of Memphis and Abydos. So that on the occasion of taking the latter city, he changed his name, by ascribing the same honourable title to Re Athom the father of all the gods of Egypt. This his new name (which was far more becoming the founder of a dynasty), would probably have been written NUCHERES by the Greeks. Nor are these all the honours ascribed to SAITES by the constructer of the tablet of Abydos. His name is compounded with all the legible ones that occupy the space between the two entries, with the exception of two. This was an attempt to give to these ancient kings the double name which at the time of the construction of the table had become universal, though in their day it was confined to the Upper Egyptian Pharaohs only. Neither SAITES nor his successors of this dynasty ever used more than one epithet enclosed in one ring for their names.

We have elsewhere mentioned that AMENEMES IV. (No. 39) was an immediate ancestor of SESOSTRIS, the constructer of the tablet of Abydos, and that he is the last of his race who appears there for some generations. The next name to his is that of AMOSIS (No. 40), the founder of the 18th dynasty. We now perceive the cause of this omission. The successors of AMENEMES in the direct line had no longer possession of Abydos. It had been taken from them by SAITES and the Lower Egyptians. Therefore it is that SAITES heads the Upper or Mencherian line as the direct representative of the

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family of MENES (1), and behind him (26—16), are the names of all who had been kings of Abydos in that line before him, that is, between his times and those of MENCHERES, and also his successors, who still retained Abydos, until it was recaptured by AMOSIS (No. 40), when its sovereignty once more returned to the Upper Egyptian line.

Thus does it appear that the tablet of Abydos follows exactly the arrangement of the Chamber of Karnak in recognizing the rival pretensions of the two branches of the family of MENES in Upper and Lower Egypt, which for the whole of this the most ancient period of the history of the kingdom were contending for the sovereignty. The two documents also correspond in the position which is conceded to the Lower Egyptian line at the top or head (A, *of our diagram*), as the older and more direct representatives of the protomonarch. So that the upper line (A) of the tablet of Abydos contains the kings of Lower Egypt, like the two uppermost planes of the Chamber of Karnak (C, D, G, H, *diagram*). While in the second line (B) at Abydos, are the Upper Egyptian Pharaohs of the 11th and 12th dynasties as in planes A and B at Karnak. The third line (C) at Abydos is filled with repetitions of the names of SESOSTRIS, in whose family the two rival dynasties were finally merged and made one. This will appear at the issue of our present inquiry.

The cotemporary remains of the reign of SAITES or NUCHERES are by no means extensive. It is pretty certain that he was far advanced in life at the time of the capture of Memphis. In the second year after that

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event he took possession of the mines at the Wady Meghara. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Upper Egyptians were once more expelled from thence in his name by his son-in-law MŒRIS, and his grandson PHIOPS or APHOPHIS. He is said in the lists to have survived the capture of Memphis by nineteen years. It is, therefore, pretty certain that the event commemorated on this tablet took place in the last year of his reign, and shortly before his death.*

SAITES was buried in one of the pyramids in the district of Sho. It was named "the pyramid of NUCHERES of living [eternal] buildings." Its ruins have not yet been discovered.

The history we have already quoted (*above*, p. 37), tells us that after the conquest of Memphis SAITES was principally occupied with the defence of his north-eastern frontier against the Canaanites and Assyrians. If any other memorials of his reign have escaped the fanaticism of the succeeding age, they will probably be found in that part of Egypt, if ever the mounds there shall be excavated.

, *mei-re*, MŒRIS.

This monarch was the son-in-law of SAITES. He was, most probably, a prince of Canaan; and in this circumstance originated the slander which called the successes of his family a Shepherd invasion. The most

* Lepsius, Abt. ii. bl. 116.

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prominent event of his reign was the capture, from the Upper Egyptians, of Crocodilopolis, and the palace of the Labyrinth. It stands recorded at Abydos in the ring of his son and co-regent PHIOPS; who was, most probably, born the year that Memphis was taken; and was on that account immediately crowned king of Egypt, conjointly with his father and grandfather. Far from exhibiting the destructive propensities ascribed to the Shepherds by the Greek fable, this Canaanite carried on, and brought to completion, the great design of AMENEMES, with such magnificence and with so many additions and improvements, that, in after times, the whole of this wonderful work was ascribed to MŒRIS. This truth, which was long ago suggested by Bunsen, now appears demonstrably in the monumental history of the reign of this monarch. Nothing now remains of the Labyrinth but its lower portions. All the rest, which MŒRIS built, has perished.

MŒRIS and his son both ascended the throne on the death of SAITES. The father, MŒRIS, was crowned king of Upper Egypt; and his capital was Crocodilopolis. The son, PHIOPS, was crowned, at the same time, king of Lower Egypt. He reigned at Memphis. The foreign descent of MŒRIS, doubtless, suggested this arrangement. The chronicle of it appears in the porphyry quarries of El Hamamat. This arrangement of an amicable co-regency, or rather division of the monarchy, became a precedent for the successors of MŒRIS and PHIOPS, which issued in the depression and ultimate extinction of this illustrious line of Pharaohs. It likewise involves the history of the following epoch in

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utterly inextricable confusion. There appear to have been three always, often four, co-regent Pharaohs.

This perplexity commences even now. MŒRIS does not appear either in the Chamber of Karnak, or on the tablet of Abydos. This is perfectly regular. His wife only was really entitled to a place in the pedigree; and the names of females were never entered there. His place in both is occupied by the name of his son. We shall find other instances of precisely the same arrangement, in the subsequent history of Egypt.

The few memorials of the reign of MŒRIS, which have escaped the destructive fanaticism of his bigoted successors, show it to have been a very glorious one, fully bearing out the character given to him by the Greek tradition. No king that went before him, and very few that followed him on the throne of Egypt, have left so many quarry marks as MŒRIS. The sandstone of El Kab, the porphyry of Hamamat, and the granite of the Wady Meghara, all bear testimony to the extent of his quarrying operations for the embellishment of his cities. We will now endeavour to read, from these interesting records, the history they seem to embody.

The beginning of it falls on the first triacontaeteris, or thirty years' feast, which occurred after the capture of Memphis by SAITES. As a token, doubtless, of his gratitude, SAITES added to the temple of Phtha, the god of his new capital, a superb hypostyle hall, built entirely with the porphyry of Hamamat, and expressly designed for the celebration of the solemnities pertaining to that high festival. This form of construction is

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strictly Egyptian, and in no other type does its very peculiar architecture show to equal advantage. It consisted of a square hypæthral enclosure, filled with gigantic columns, and their architraves arranged in endless colonnades. It is of all conceivable forms the best adapted for exhibiting to advantage the long and splendidly-attired processions, bearing gorgeous symbols, that wound interminably among its clustering pillars. The building of this superb construction must have occupied many years. For the quarrying of the porphyry a very large body of prisoners of war resided at Hamamat, under the command of no fewer than fourteen officials of the court of SAITES, all entitled to have their names enrolled in the commemorative tablet, and therefore noblemen of the highest rank, and most of them having names compounded with that of MŒRIS, and therefore his school-fellows and relatives.* Such a quarter supposes a very large force of workmen, who, as we have said, were always either bondslaves, malefactors, or prisoners of war. It cannot be doubted that in the present instance they were Upper Egyptians, made captives by the invasion of SAITES; that this his evil precedent was followed by his sons; and that in this consisted the actual ground of the execration and obloquy which the Upper Egyptian records have heaped upon the memories of this dynasty of kings. SUPHIS, of the great pyramid, has already afforded us an exactly parallel case.†

* Or, *Heteri* [ἑταῖροι]. They had been the playmates and schoolfellows of the king in his childhood.

† Vol. i. pp. 275, *seq.*

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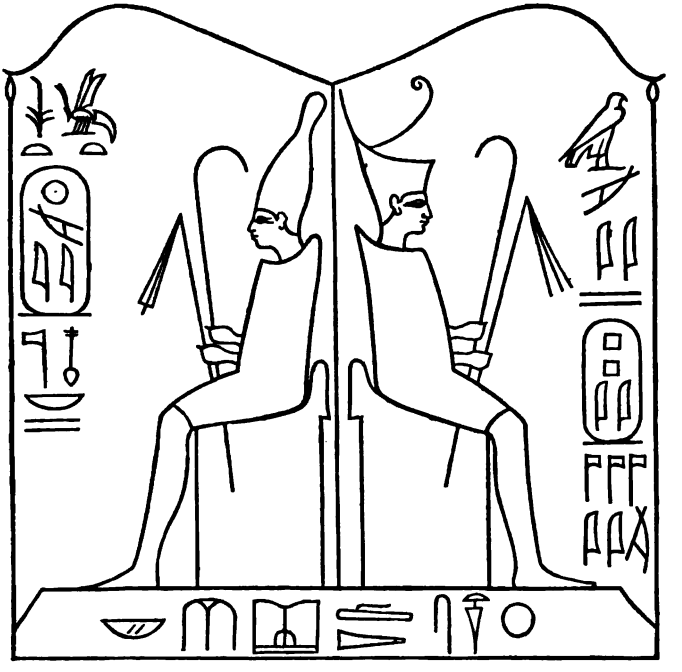
The solemnity which was prepared for on this scale of magnificence was further signalized by the coronation in this hall, of MŒRIS, as king of Upper Egypt, and of PHIOPS, as king of Lower Egypt. A shrine of the same material, but, doubtless, of the richest workmanship, was executed at the charge of the two kings to commemorate their accession. Both of them wore on the occasion the vestments of Phtha, the god of Memphis, thereby expressing their especial devotion to him.



It contained the statues of both kings. This fact is recorded in the accompanying tablet from the rock of Hamamat, which is in fact a picture of the shrine.*

* Leps. Abt. ii. bl. 115 a.

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The foreign cast of the features of MŒRIS, and the striking contrast to them of the Egyptian contour of his son, are very conspicuous. MŒRIS was by birth and descent of one of the princes of Arvad. From this circumstance his descendants and their subjects came to be called in hieroglyphics Upper Arvad, a century later. The inscription before MŒRIS reads, "the king MŒRIS, the god beneficent, lord of both Egypts." Before his son is written, "the prince the benefactor of both Egypts, APHOPHIS, beloved of the gods." On the base of the shrine is the date: "the first day of the *st* panegyry." In what year of SAITES this coronation took place is not recorded.

The next event is that of the 18th of SAITES, already mentioned. It has, happily, two records, which may possibly assist in the development of its history. On the 4th of Mesore (the last month), in this year, MŒRIS and PHIOPS, at the head of an army, expelled the Upper Egyptians from the Wady Meghara, and thereby acquired possession of the valuable quarries and mines in its vicinity. SAITES had evidently been living when MŒRIS and his son had marched from Egypt: for the glorious relief which to this day commemorates the victory is inscribed with his name and with those of his two co-regents. On this tablet, MŒRIS, like any other father, ascribes all the glory of the war to his beloved son.* He it is who rushes through Lower Egypt; and in Upper Egypt grasps the hand of an Egyptian whose pusillanimity is noted by the circumstance, that with the beard of a man he has the breasts of a woman.

* Abt. ii. bl. 11 a.

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PHIOPS was on this occasion made sovereign in all Egypt: he wears the two parts of the crown in the two divisions of the picture. This was an honour never assumed by MŒRIS. More than thirty officers of his army were of the rank which entitled them to have their names inscribed at the foot of this magnificent tablet.

The especial purpose of the tablet is to commemorate the hewing of granite from the quarries there for the casing of the pyramids of SAITES and MŒRIS, both of which were then in process of construction.

On the 27th of the same month in the same year, MŒRIS alone reached Hamamat, on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Suez. Twenty-three days would be about the time required for rounding the head of the gulf by somewhat hasty marches. There the tidings of his father's death seem first to have reached him; for he gave directions for the commencement of extensive quarrying operations, and left two of his sons to superintend them. One of these princes was a priest presiding over the funeral rites. The date agrees remarkably well with the lists, which makes the death of SAITES to have taken place in the 19th year of his reign at Memphis.* The present memorial is dated within three days of the termination of his 18th year.

MŒRIS excavated the porphyry rocks of El Hamamat on three other occasions. One of them only is specified. It is the expulsion of the Upper Egyptians from Coptos, their capital. He signalized this success by a porphyry shrine, dedicated to the god of Coptos, and

* Abt. ii. bl. 115, 24.

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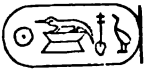
erected in the temenos, or sacred grove, where he was worshipped.

His successes against the Upper Egyptians were very great. He recovered the possession of the sandstone rocks of Eilethya, which apparently had been retaken in his father's time. It would seem therefore that the Upper Egyptians were expelled by him from the whole of Egypt Proper, with the exception of Thebes. This last city seems, from the Chamber of Karnak [B 14], still to have remained in the possession of the feeble representative of the Mencherian Pharaohs, the princess  SKENIOPHRIS. The brief history of this princess, appended to the entry of her name in the lists, informs us that she was the sister of AMENEMES IV. (she was his niece); and that she survived him four years. It was probably much longer. With her the 12th dynasty, which had opened so propitiously and so full of promise, closed in defeat and disaster.

The remains of the Labyrinth have preserved to us the single fact regarding her reign, that she was associated with her father in the sovereignty of all Egypt on the death of her uncle. Her name* is inscribed on several fragments of the internal decorations of its once magnificent halls.

MŒRIS was a munificent monarch as well as a successful warrior. He has covered the rocks of El Kab, of Hamamat, and of Meghara, with the memorials of his excavations from them to decorate the cities of Upper Egypt. His monumental fame likewise rests on

* Leps. Abt. ii. bl. 140.

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the still surer ground of a faithful discharge of the relative duties. He was a dutiful son and an affectionate father. But he was a foreigner by birth and extraction; and this circumstance alone would have sufficed to exclude his name from the royal genealogies, and to have given his memory a doubtful colour in the archives of Egypt. In addition to this, he in all probability first set the example, which his successors uniformly followed, of employing the Upper Egyptian prisoners in his works of construction and decoration. As a foreigner he would naturally feel far less scruple on this point than had he been a native Egyptian. As ruler in Upper Egypt alone he came also into especial collision with the kings of the other pretension and their adherents, being, as we have seen, the chief agent in their expulsion from the borders of Egypt. For all these reasons the name of MŒRIS seems to have been the mark at which the fiercest fanaticism and the deadliest hatred of the adherents of AMOSIS, in the succeeding epoch, were especially levelled. So relentless have been their ravages, that of all the fair constructions of MŒRIS nothing has escaped them, save the inscriptions on the rocks and a single tomb at Chenoboskion, where his name appears, together with those of his father, his son, and his grandson.

MŒRIS never pretended to any other monarchy than that of Upper Egypt. His father and his son were co-regents with him throughout his reign, which for this reason has no place in chronology. Its exact duration is unknown; it must have been considerable.

MŒRIS was buried in the pyramid which he had

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begun, and which his own son completed. Its name is of the utmost historical importance.

PHIOPS, APAPPUS, APHOPHIS.

The fierce fanaticism which has erased from the monuments and rocks of Egypt all memorials of the reign of MŒRIS, has been just as ruthless in its destruction of those of his son. Its effect in this last case has been to involve our inquiry in a serious difficulty, which nothing but the discovery of its existence and its ravages could have cleared away. The Pharaoh to whom Joseph was prime minister, and during whose reign Egypt enjoyed a far greater amount of material prosperity than at any other period, is, nevertheless, absolutely without a history in her annals, either traditive or monumental. In the Greek tradition we have already seen him appear under the utterly anomalous impersonation of the Shepherd-king APHOPHIS. Its contradictions and impossibilities we have sufficiently exposed. Yet is the statement so clear and unanimous, so without ambiguity or hesitation, that it is certain that no other king besides APHOPHIS was ever mentioned to the Greeks as the patron of Joseph.* So that to reject it is to cut the whole history adrift from their tradition. The monuments ignore the Shepherd invasion altogether. According to their testimony, it was a civil war between two rival branches of the stock

* Ἐπὶ πᾶσι συμπιφώνηται. Syncellus, p. 61.

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of MENES. The aid to the solution of our difficulty which they afford us is, the synchronism of a king, having a name in hieroglyphics which might certainly be hellenized into Aphophis (*Karnak*, C. 15), with queen SKENIOPHRIS (B 14), the daughter of AMUNTIMÆUS. This is an important point gained in the inquiry. Yet when we come to the examination of the cotemporary monuments of this king, we find them to be very slight and unimportant: differing remarkably from those of his predecessors of the 12th dynasty in the extreme and visibly wanton mutilation they have undergone. On extending our researches in the vicinities of the places in which the name of this king occurs, we find them to be situated in the midst of a vast series of tombs, grottoes, and other works of art, all entirely and systematically mutilated and defaced. This mutilation, as we have said, has cost an amount of labour only surpassed by that of their original construction; and must therefore have been suggested by some religious or political antipathy. The proof of this, *primâ facie*, is rendered complete by the circumstance, that in two places in this vast cemetery are tombs of the earlier era of the kings of the 12th dynasty; and that they are not merely unmutilated, but are among the most perfect of the remains of Ancient Egypt. It cannot therefore have been in any indiscriminate sack, or in the accidents of their localities, that the monuments around them have perished. These very peculiar circumstances of the monuments of this king are assuredly suggestive of the same conclusion regarding him as that which we had already

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been induced to adopt from other and entirely distinct considerations. He was of a race of Pharaohs who, having rendered themselves obnoxious in some religious feud, their memory was as far as possible effaced from the soil of Egypt, and they were denounced by the chroniclers of subsequent times as barbarians and foreigners. These particulars consist with each other perfectly, and seem to us to account well for the difficulty which is presented by the extreme paucity of the memorials of APHOPHIS, notwithstanding that his undoubted history proclaims him to have been one of the greatest kings of Egypt.

We have elsewhere exposed the strange embroglio in the list of the 6th dynasty, wherein this same king appears under the name of PHIOPS, which is written *Apappus* in the canon of Erotosthenes.* The monuments, we repeat it, have preserved the name of one king only which admits of being thus orthographized, and he was the son of MŒRIS and the grandson of SAITES.

Our readers are aware that the husband of queen SKENIOPHRIS (B 14), under his wife's name, sits immediately below PHIOPS (C 15), in the Chamber of Karnak; and that the fact that they were cotemporaries is indicated hereby. The name of PHIOPS on the tablet of Abydos (A 25), where he immediately follows his grandfather, seems to supply us with an event in which these two rivals came into collision. It is thus written: "fair is the form of Seb, PHIOPS." Seb, or Sebek, the crocodile, was the god of the Faioum; and the epithet, "fair is the form," was the name of

* Vol. i. c. vii. p. 452.

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SAITES, his grandfather. The adoption of this title, therefore, by PHIOPS, was an acknowledgment of his grandfather as the head of his dynasty, and an attempt to propitiate the god Seb. We gather from hence that one of the first feats of arms of PHIOPS (possibly before his accession) was the expulsion of SKENIOPHRIS and the Upper Egyptians from the Faioum and the palace of the Labyrinth. Before this disaster, she had made considerable additions there to the constructions of AMUNTIMÆUS her father. Her name, as we have said, is recorded on several fragments which were dug out from the ruins by Dr. Lepsius. They are now in the Berlin Museum.

PHIOPS reigned cotemporarily with his father and grandfather. This we believe to be the only instance of a triple co-regency of the same pretension on the same throne in the annals of the monarchy. It is commemorated at Hamamat in the annexed device.

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The golden hawk, which was one of the fishing eagles of the Nile, seems from the first to have been made the impersonation of a king. We are as little acquainted with the motives of this symbolism as with those of most of the others in the entire system. The three hawks on the same symbol of "gold" denote the joint reigns of MŒRIS and PHIOPS, who are both mentioned in the tablet, with SAITES, whose name does not appear. The date, it may be observed, is the same as that of the preceding illustration (p. 75), also from Hamamat. The present tablet recorded the quarrying of porphyry from thence to decorate a temple in some other city than Memphis, to which these kings also made additions, in commemoration of the *st* panegyry.

We have already stated that the birth of PHIOPS, in the year of the fall of Memphis, is the probable solution of this strictly peculiar arrangement of a triple co-regency.

We have also explained, in our sketch of his father's life, that he divided the whole monarchy with PHIOPS on the death of SAITES. When MŒRIS deceased, PHIOPS became the king of all Egypt.

It is entered against the name of PHIOPS, in the list of the 6th dynasty, that he reigned for 100 years within an hour. We have seen that his reign began with his life. There can be no doubt that it was a long one.

The few remains of the reign of PHIOPS that are found in the vast cemetery of Abydos are of exquisite beauty. Egyptian art in them had attained its highest

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perfection. They consist altogether of the tombs of princes and courtiers. The only points of history embodied in them are:

1. The worship of Osiris at Abydos after formulæ identical with those of the latter kings of the 12th dynasty, and of all their successors.

2. The name of the palace constructed by PHIOPS, *the Aphopheum.* Nearly all the princes interred at Melawee, Schech-Zaid, and Chenoboskion, were officers of this palace. We infer from hence that it was built on one of the fertile plains on the western bank opposite to these localities; that it was begun after the death of his father, and designed for the king's residence in Upper Egypt. It was likewise intended in some measure to vie with the Labyrinth, which his father had completed. This was a common practice with ancient kings.

3. Egypt must have enjoyed during the reign of PHIOPS an amount of external prosperity greater than at any former period. A vast amount of forced labour must also have been at the command of her princes and nobles. Their tombs, now nearly all mutilated, have surpassed, both in dimensions and execution, those of the 12th dynasty.

Having collected these monumental indications of the state of Egypt under PHIOPS, or APHOPHIS, we now come to the very important synchronism which puts his reign in relation with the general history of the rest of mankind. The patriarch Joseph was sold into Egypt during the reign of APHOPHIS. The event itself is a part of the history of Israel; but the circumstances

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and accessories of it belong to the history of Egypt, and are most important to its elucidation.

There is scarcely a single detail of this very well known narrative* which does not throw light upon the history of Egypt in the reign of APHOPHIS. So very ample are the materials, that it will be incumbent upon us to use the utmost possible brevity in treating of them, that our remarks may be brought within the limits into which the extent of the inquiry before us imperatively requires their contraction.

The trepan and sale of Joseph by his brethren elucidates a fact which appears in the tombs of the princes of the 12th dynasty. We have just pointed out that Nuhotphthis II. presented to his sovereign, SESORTOSIS II., thirty-seven slaves skilled in the pounding of stibium, whom he purchased of one of the petty kings of the Jebusites. The tomb of his near connection, *Chotei*, in the same cemetery (Beni-hassan), is covered with pictures of Canaanite and Ethiopic slaves wrestling and fighting in his presence. At Bersheh, also, Thotephthis, a courtier of the same monarch, drags a colossus from the quarry to its destination, with gangs of Canaanites as well as Egyptians. At a still earlier period, in the reign of SESORTOSIS I., a large force of Canaanite auxiliaries, or mercenaries, or slaves, fought in the army with which he conquered Nubia. This fact appears in the painting of the tomb of Amunei, at Beni-hassan (*see Plate*). All difficulty connected with these facts is cleared by the narrative of Joseph. An extensive slave-trade was carried on by

* Gen. xxxvii.—xlvii.

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CANAANITES & LOWER EGYPTIANS.

Canaanite or Jew
Tomb of Ros-she-ra.

Lower Egyptian
Tomb of Ros-she-ra.

Lower Egyptian Woman
Tomb of Hai.

Jebusite from
Tomb of Sethos I.

Jebusite from
Tomb of Amun-ei

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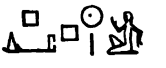
the itinerant merchants of the desert between Egypt and Canaan. The petty kings of the latter country sold to them their prisoners of war, whom they carried down in *coffles*, or caravans, to Egypt, where they found a ready sale for them.

The name of the prince by whom Joseph was bought from the Midianites was *Potiphar*. The name of the priest whose daughter he married long afterwards was *Potipherah*. Both are the same name written with a slight variation. It is strictly Egyptian, and of not uncommon occurrence,  *ptephre*, "he who worships [offers to] the sun." The sun was, as we have often mentioned, the god of Heliopolis; and Potipherah is declared to have been the priest of ⲟⲛ, *On*, which the LXX. translate Ηλιοπολις. Now it appears from the monuments, that it had been the practice, from a very early date, to name the inhabitants of Egypt after the local gods of their native cities. So that nearly all Memphites had names compounded of Phtha, and all Thebans of Amun. These circumstances decide a point of great importance. The scene of the bondage, the imprisonment, and the subsequent exaltation and marriage of Joseph, was the city of Heliopolis; which we have already found to occupy so commanding a position in the annals of the kingdom. So that it becomes an historical fact, that the patron of Joseph, Pharaoh APHOPHIS, had possession of Heliopolis, and for a long period held his regal state there.

Heliopolis was the most ancient capital of Egypt. In the days of the Greeks, there were three cities

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each of which had the metropolitan privilege of sending forth ten judges to administer justice in their surrounding districts. These cities were Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis.* The same was the law of Egypt in the times of AMOSIS and his successors. "The three seats of justice of both Egypts" are very frequently mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts of these late epochs. But in the inscriptions of the remoter times now before us two seats of justice only are ever enumerated. We infer from hence that Thebes had not yet obtained this privilege; and that Memphis and Heliopolis were then the only capitals of Egypt.

The titles and professions recorded in the inspired narrative before us admit of perfect illustration from the cotemporary monuments of Egypt.

Potiphar was סריס פרעה, *i.e.*, *s-rsh*, "royal prince."† He was שר־הטבחים, *i.e.*, ‡ *sr-tog* (Copt., ϯωσϩ,) "superintendent of the vineyards;" *lit.*, vine props. §

The two prisoners were:—

שר־המשקים, "the cup-bearer," *i.e.*, ‖ *mr-so*, "president of those that give drink."

שר־האפים, "chief purveyor."¶ This office was frequently held by the princes of Egypt. The title is not distinctly written on any known tomb.

The names of Joseph admit of even still more

* Diod. Sic. i. c. 75.

† Tombs of Memphis, *passim*. ‡ Ghizeh, Tomb 73.

§ Gen. xxxix. 1. ‖ Ghizeh, Tomb 68. ¶ Gen. xl. 1, 2.

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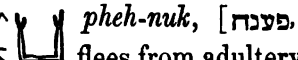
precise illustration. The titles conferred upon him by Pharaoh* were significant allusions to his circumstances. The first of them, *Tsaphnath*,† would be thus rendered in hieroglyphics, *tsf-nt*, "near to [one with] Neith, the goddess of wisdom," the exact echo of the address of Pharaoh on conferring it on him: "There is none so discreet and wise as thou art."‡ The other title is Joseph's acquittal of the false charge under which he had suffered imprisonment,  *pheh-nuk*, [פעכח, *Paaneah*], "he who flees from adultery." We have before noticed it as the name of one of the courtiers of USERCHERES I., of the 5th dynasty.§ In all probability, he also had assumed it on a similar occasion.

The rest of his titles are not in any degree doubtful. They are written on the tomb of Joseph, which is at Sakkarah.|| It was either a cenotaph, constructed for Joseph by the Egyptians as a token of public esteem, or it has been the tomb of the successor to his offices, who, out of respect to his memory, took his name as well as his titles. The idolatrous allusions contained in its inscriptions seem to favour the latter opinion. In the archæology of any other ancient kingdom such an identification would be a marvel all but incredible. In that of Egypt it scarcely rises above the level of the ordinary results of investigation.

The name of Joseph is thus written, *ei-tsuph*, "he came to save." It is parano-

* Gen. xli. 45. † צפנת. ‡ Gen. xli. 39.
§ Vol. i. p. 301. || Lepsius, No. 15 Sakkarah, Abt. ii. Bl. 101.

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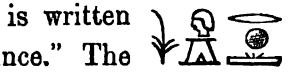
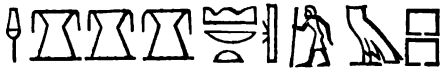
mastic, and alludes intelligibly to the good work he accomplished for Egypt during the seven years of the famine, besides embodying the sounds of his name.

The title under which Joseph was first inaugurated, אברך *abrech*,* appears also in his tomb, and at the head of his blazon. It will we believe not be found among the distinctions of any other prince of Egypt. It is written  *hb-resh*, "royal priest and prince." The office to which Joseph was appointed by Pharaoh is in like manner fully comprehended in the titles which appear on his tombs. He was extensively empowered in regard of the tame cattle of the king. This title is mutilated. He was the "director of the granaries of the chiefs of both Egypts."  The "full and the empty channels of irrigation" were also in his charge, and the adjustment of the supply of water to them; so that Joseph was "over all the land of Egypt" in special respect of the provisioning of the land, which comports exactly with the inspired narrative of his elevation.

It is therefore historically true that Joseph was sold into Egypt as a slave, and that he was afterwards prime minister to Pharaoh APHOPHIS. The men named in the Bible are real men, and the events recorded actual occurrences. Whatever be the value of these facts to the history of Israel, they are far more important to

* Gen. xli. 43.

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that of Egypt, where so little that is precise and tangible has hitherto been found.*

With this aid the history of the reign of PHIOPS, or APHOPHIS, may therefore be written with far more certainty than that of any other king of Egypt that went before him.

We have said that the few fragments of the reign of APHOPHIS, which have escaped the fanatical fury of his successors, attest him to have been a munificent patron

* Since the above was written, an extraordinary confirmation of the views embodied in the text has fallen into my hands. It is the translation of an hieratic MS. on papyrus, in the possession of Mrs. Daubeny, of London, by M. Emanuel de Rougè; whose great proficiency in their study, and singular success in interpreting them, we have already noticed. The document belonged to SETHOS II. while yet a child; and was therefore (as the translator rightly observes) exactly of the times of Moses. It was copied under the superintendence of a scribe named *Kake-ei*, "the dispeller of darkness." This was likewise the case with all the hieratic papyri of the Sallier collection, which were published some years ago by the British Museum. It had therefore obviously been deposited in the same tomb. Mrs. Daubeny's papyrus is a romance, founded upon the lives of two brothers, who were both *feeders of cattle*. The name of the elder was that of the god Anubis. That of the younger brother is doubtful. M. de Rougè translates it conjecturally *Satou*. At the outset of the fable, this younger brother has an adventure with his elder brother's wife, *identical in every particular* with Joseph's adventure with the wife of Potiphar (Gen. xxxix. 6—20.) We have pleasure in referring to this most interesting document. (*Revue Archeologique* 9e *année*.) We would only further remark in regard of the name of the younger brother, that the single phrase of the original quoted in the article which contains it is mutilated just in the place of its occurrence; so that its transcription is somewhat imperfect: but it appears to us to bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the hieroglyphic name of *Joseph* in our text, in hieratic characters. The *t* is the doubtful letter in De Rougè's version.

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of the arts of design. In further proof of it, the quarry-marks of APHOPHIS, on all the principal quarries in Middle and Upper Egypt, are exceedingly numerous, surpassing even those of his father. But the name of his pyramid, which is happily preserved at Schech-Zaid, affords us a yet more cogent proof of his taste and magnificence. It is thus written, *lit.*, "[of] PHIOPS, the fair constructer, the pyramid." It therefore declares formally that PHIOPS stood pre-eminent among all the kings of Egypt for the magnitude and beauty of his architectural constructions. Even this is not the extent of its testimony to the point. The names of the pyramids were also those of the districts in their immediate vicinities; and the pyramid of PHIOPS gave its name to, or took it from, a locality no less eminent in the history of Egypt than the city of Memphis. Its frequently-occurring hieroglyphic name is *mn-nufi*, which the Copts have written ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ almost without variation. The Greek Μέμφις is a Hellenized version of the same name. The Hebrew מוף and נוף are mere abbreviations of it. The conclusion from hence is very obvious. Such were the beauty and extent of the architectural constructions wherewith PHIOPS adorned the city of MENES, and so far did he surpass herein all his predecessors, that ever afterwards the trivial name of Memphis became that of his pyramid, which crowned the height of Sakkarah, that rose immediately behind the city. The fury of the Amonian fanatics, under AMOSIS, doubtless rased to the ground the vast temples

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and palaces of PHIOPS at Memphis, and utterly effaced his name and memorials from the quarries of Tourrah, on the opposite bank, where he had made vast excavations. But they could not erase the memory of his good works from the heart of Egypt. The name of its great capital handed it down to posterity notwithstanding.

We have only to call to mind that this same PHIOPS, or APHOPHIS, was the patron of Joseph, when we at once perceive the value of these details in restoring to consent and harmony the fragmentary notices of the history of Egypt, which lie scattered over so many authorities.

The interpretation of the dreams of Pharaoh, and the prediction of the events involved therein, by the prisoner Joseph, are the well-known details wherein APHOPHIS first appears in the Scripture narrative. The elevation of the prisoner as prime minister, and the literal accomplishment of his prediction in the seven years of plenty and the seven years of famine, both made by his wisdom equally conducive to the advancement of Egypt in material prosperity, are circumstances so familiar to all English readers, that they require nothing here beyond the most casual notice. The history of the cotemporary and rival dynasty of Upper Egypt will very shortly be before us. We shall there find that the physical features of Egypt afford at this day the unmistakable indications both of the truth of the inspired narrative of these events, and of the correctness of the place in our history which we assign to them.

The immigration of Israel into Egypt took place in

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the course of the third year of the famine.* From this inspired history we happily know the exact measure of the period that has elapsed since the visit of Abram, the last event whereby we were enabled to harmonize the two histories. It is 215 years; and the value of this certainty to the history of Egypt can scarcely be estimated too highly. Without its aid the actual duration of the interval between the accession of AMENEMES and the reign of APHOPHIS never could have been disentangled from the intricate maze of double and triple reigns of two rival co-regencies, overlapping each other at all possible points, in which it is bound up. By its help the inquiry is greatly simplified.

We assume as before† the accession of AMENEMES I. to date from the pacification of ACHTHOES, to which Abram was a party. We have collected from the monuments the following certainties regarding the reigns of him and his successors:—

AMENEMES I.	reigned	alone	14	years.
SESORTOSIS I.	„	„	42	„
AMENEMES II.	„	„	32	„
SESORTOSIS II. / SESORTOSIS III.	„	„	14	„
AMENEMES III. (AMUNTIMÆUS)			43	„
			145	„

We have said that the capture of Memphis took place late in the reign of AMUNTIMÆUS. He may have fallen in the defence of his northern capital, or not have survived it twelve months, or he may have

* Gen. xlv. 6. † Vol. i. p. 380.

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lived three years after. We cannot be certain which, but either is perfectly consistent with the synchronism before us. If Memphis fell in the 40th year of AMUNTIMÆUS, the immigration of Israel into Egypt took place in the 54th year of the reign of APHOPHIS, and in the 73rd year of his age, by our assumption regarding him. If AMUNTIMÆUS did not so long survive his loss, this event took place in the 70th year of APHOPHIS, the 51st of his reign.

We have already cited the evidence of the monuments to the correctness of the statement in the lists that SAITES died nineteen years after the capture of Memphis. The rest of the data of this our reckoning admit of the same corroboration. If we deduct the reigns of AMENEMES IV. and SKENIOPHRIS from the sum of the list of the 12th dynasty, the remainder will be 148 years, which differs by three years only from the united reigns which the dated monuments assign to the same kings.

APHOPHIS survived for seven or ten years the immigration of Israel. According to our conjecture regarding him he died in his 80th year; for all the copies of the lists agree in assigning to APHOPHIS a reign of 61 years.

It is only by the aid of the present synchronism that this portion of the history of Egypt can be dated at all, so little is there to rely upon in the other authorities for it.

APHOPHIS left Egypt by far the richest and most flourishing kingdom that had then appeared upon the earth. His policy, both external and internal, had an

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important bearing upon her subsequent history, and must therefore be carefully considered.

In his policy towards the Canaanites on his north-eastern frontier, APHOPHIS scrupulously adhered to the principles which had guided the Pharaohs of his line from the first. It was for its age marvellously tolerant and liberal, even when we take into the account that he was himself related to one of the royal families of Canaan. The corn, which the prudence and foresight of Joseph had stored in such abundance during the years of plenty, was sold freely to the Canaanites in exchange for their precious things and commodities, as well as to the Egyptians. The famine was in Canaan as well as in Egypt, and therefore "all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn, because the famine was sore in all lands."* The increase in affluence and power which the vast foreign traffic implied in this passage would confer upon Egypt is well understood in modern times. It was from thence that he found the means to construct the beautiful temples and palaces wherewith he adorned Memphis, and which so far surpassed all that his predecessors had done, that the name of his pyramid became in after times the trivial appellation of this great capital of the kingdom. We must call to mind that PHIOPS or APHOPHIS was the son of MŒRIS, the completer of the Labyrinth. His father's example would, doubtless, with his increased means, be largely improved upon in the constructions of Memphis. This makes it clear that his buildings there, as well as the tombs of his princes,

* Gen. xli. 57.

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were afterwards wantonly thrown down and mutilated; for in the times of Herodotus there was nothing in Memphis to compare with the Labyrinth.*

The inspired narrative, whence we derive this most important illustration of the foreign policy of APHOPHIS, plainly implies that the famine was by no means the occasion on which it was first adopted. The scope of the whole narrative requires that during the entire 215 years between Abram and the immigration there had existed an extensive traffic between Egypt and Canaan.

Another point of the external policy of APHOPHIS is likewise made apparent in the same inspired history. He encouraged the settlement of the Canaanites within the limits of Egypt, especially in the Delta. We have explained that such has evidently been the policy of the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs from the first notice of them to be found in the Bible. The interview of Abram with the Sebennyte cotemporary of ACHTHOES was an issue of it, which we have elsewhere considered. Another and still more momentous result was the immigration of Israel, which we have just ascertained to date from either the 51st or the 54th year of the reign of Pharaoh APHOPHIS.

We find from the Greek tradition that the same policy had been pursued towards the Canaanites from the beginning. The shepherd Philitis depastured his flocks in the neighbourhood of Ghizeh in the days of SUPHIS, and, doubtless, assisted him to build the Great Pyramid. From this circumstance its erection was ascribed to him out of hatred to the memory of SUPHIS. †

* Herod. ii. 148. † *u. s.* c. 128.

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The district in which Israel was located is one of those questions which belong immediately to the history of Egypt, and therefore requires discussion in this place; notwithstanding that it may at first sight assume the appearance of mere biblical criticism.

On the first interview of the sons of Israel with APHOPHIS, they addressed him in the following terms: "For to sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, we pray thee let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen."* We need scarcely mention that the king complied with this request, and that Israel and his descendants dwelt and had possessions in the land of Goshen. This name is not Hebrew. Hitherto nothing is known of its meaning. The locality it designates is likewise in nearly the same obscurity. To judge from the analogy of other similar unintelligible words, which we have met with in the same inspired narrative,† its meaning will probably be found in the Egyptian language. In the Coptic texts are many words all spelt with the same letters as גשן, *Goshen*, and all denoting one class of objects.

The following are of them:

ϣⲁϣⲓⲥⲟⲩ, "the herb anise."	ϣⲁϣⲓⲥⲟⲩ, "a lily."
ϣⲟϩⲛ, "the herb garlick."	ϣⲓϩⲛ, "a tree."

Evidently all these words are from one root, and as evidently the import of that root was "growth," "vegetation." But the Israelites explained to Pharaoh at their interview that they came to Egypt in search of

* Gen. xlvii. 5. † Above, p. 88.

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pasturage, which had failed them in Canaan. For this reason they requested that they might be located in the land of "Goshen," that is, "of herbage" or "flowers;" so that, *primâ facie*, there cannot be a doubt that such is the meaning of the word.

As to the site of Goshen, we have mentioned already that no spot on the surface of the earth can advance a better claim to be entitled "the land of flowers" than the Delta; for nowhere is vegetation more rapid or luxuriant. It lies, moreover, along the north-eastern border of Egypt, and was therefore the district which would be first reached and easiest of access to travellers from Canaan; a most important consideration when their flocks and herds came along with them. The proof, therefore, that Goshen was the Delta, or some part of it, becomes a very strong one.

The complete demonstration of the fact seems to arise from the name assumed by the Pharaohs of the 22nd dynasty, who made Bubastis in the eastern Delta their northern capital. It was written . The first three characters, it will be perceived, are the consonants of the word "Goshen," *sh-sh-n*. The last is the determinative. It is the picture of an irrigated field, * bounded by two canals cut from the same floodgate in the

* The Egyptian name of such a field was KOI. Hence it came, that in the days of these kings and afterwards, this picture was used to denote the sound of *k* as well as determinatively (*see Alphabet*, No. 62). The first king who took this name is the *Shishak* of the Bible, who sacked Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 25). The same name is written *Sesonchis* in the Greek lists.

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bank of the Nile. The group, therefore, reads, "the field [district] of Goshen." The two first characters in it are pictures of a garden (in Coptic ϣⲏⲛ),* used initially, and therefore denoting that the district of Goshen was principally composed of gardens, according to the rule for initials.† Thus clearly is it demonstrated that the word Goshen meant "the land of flowers," and that it was a name of the Delta.

This the external policy of APHOPHIS was, doubtless, eminently successful in extending and increasing the population and the wealth of Egypt.

The maxims of state and government which regulated the internal affairs of his kingdom, have also been handed down to us on the same unerring authority. We shall find them strictly to harmonize in design with the statesmanship of MENCHERES, AMENEMES, and others, the greatest of his predecessors, the wisdom of which we have already found reason to admire. They are embodied in the following extract:—

> And there was no food in all the land [in the third year], for the famine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine. And Joseph gathered up all the silver [and gold] that was found in Egypt and Canaan for the corn which they bought. Then Joseph brought the treasure into Pharaoh's house.
>
> And when the silver failed in Egypt and Canaan [in the fourth year], all the Egyptians came unto Joseph and said, "Give us bread; for why should we die before thee? for the silver faileth." And

* *Shen*, in Hebrew גַּן *gan*. So *Goshen* we find to be written *Shoshen* in Egyptian. *Sh* at the beginning of a word had, therefore, some peculiar pronunciation requiring a different letter to express it in the primitive language, but not in the Mizraite dialect of it.

† Vol. i. p. 47.

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Joseph said, "Bring your cattle; and I will give for your cattle, if silver fail."

And they brought their cattle unto Joseph; and Joseph gave them corn for the horses, for the flocks, for the herds, and for the asses. And for that year he fed them with corn [in exchange] for all their cattle.

When that year was ended, they came to him the second year [*i. e.*, the fifth of the famine], and said unto him, "We will not hide it from my lord, how that our silver [and gold] is gone. My lord also hath our cattle; there is not ought left before my lord but our bodies and our lands.

"Wherefore shall we perish before thee, both we and our land? Buy us and our land for corn, and we will be Pharaoh's [slaves] and our land will be his [possession]. Also give us seed that we may live and not die, and that the land be not desolate."

So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them; so the land became Pharaoh's.

As for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the border of Egypt to the other end thereof.

Only the land of the priests he bought not; for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them. Wherefore they sold not their land.

Then Joseph said unto the people [in the sixth year], "Behold, I have bought you; this day you and your land are Pharaoh's. Lo, here is seed for you, that ye may sow the land.

"And it shall be in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed for the field, and for food, and for them of your household, and for your little ones."

And they said, "Thou hast saved our lives; let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants." So Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day; Pharaoh has the fifth part, except the land of the priests only: it became not Pharaoh's.*

Egypt had at the period before us (perhaps has now) an important function to fulfil in the economy whereby

* Gen. xlvii. 13—26.

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the destinies of man universal upon the earth were to be accomplished. Its consolidation, therefore, as a kingdom, and the fundamental institutions whereby its permanence was to be secured, were questions by no means beneath the solution of the Divine Wisdom, notwithstanding the grievous corruptions wherewith the Egyptians had tainted the knowledge of the true God. The predecessors of APHOPHIS had accomplished the unity of worship, and therefore of internal policy, whereby Egypt was saved from flying into fragments like Canaan and Cush. Another step in the same direction was gained by APHOPHIS through the administration of Joseph.

The vast estates and possessions of the princes of Old Egypt, the number of their dependents, and the authority regal in everything but the name, which they exercised over them, we have found recorded on the walls of their tombs, and noted upon them. It has been the constant result of this state of things in the annals of mankind, that such princes become turbulent and bad subjects.

The very troublous history of old Egypt, which we have just concluded, furnishes in itself a pregnant proof (in the absence of all direct notice) that the great power of the princes and nobles had been one of the disturbing causes. Restrained, by a fundamental law of Egypt, from themselves aspiring to the throne, they had, as in mediæval Britain, fomented and abetted the feuds of the royal family, and fought under the standards of the rival pretenders. The plenty and the famine were, by the foresight and sagacity of Joseph, made the means

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of uprooting this evil, so that it ultimately ceased to exercise any further influence adverse to the unity of the kingdom.

The radical canon of all kingly power is, that the persons and properties of the whole realm are the king's. This had been hitherto merely theory in Egypt, as in most other kingdoms. Under the administration of Joseph it became absolutely and practically a fact. By the end of the third year, all the precious metals of Egypt were in the treasure-houses of Pharaoh. In the fourth year of the famine, Joseph purchases, for Pharaoh, with the corn in his granaries, the whole of the cattle of the princes. In the fifth year their properties, in the sixth their persons, are Pharoah's by purchase. He then dealt with his subjects as with his slaves. He appointed them their habitations. The princes of Egypt shall no longer be independent feudatories dwelling on their own estates, and lording it over crowds of vassals: "He removed them into cities;" thus effecting, without disturbance or resistance, a momentous social revolution, and advancing Egypt thereby many centuries in civilization. These regulations of APHOPHIS took place "from one border of Egypt unto the other;" and we shall find the expression also to be literally true; for he was king over all that was ever called Egypt, from the cataracts of Assouan to the Mediterranean. In the seventh year of the famine, APHOPHIS obtained from his subjects the ratification of all their concessions, and, in return, gave them back their estates, with the seed wherewith to sow them, under the condition that one-fifth of the produce should be Pharaoh's for ever.

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We have already seen how tyranny, the exercise harshly and arbitrarily of irresponsible power by man over man, was engrained in all the institutions and modes of thought in Ancient Egypt. In such a state of society, nay in any condition, it is well known that the absolute authority of one is productive of a far greater amount of happiness to the community than when such a government is diffused among many.* This consideration illustrates the tendency and effect of the change in the social condition of Egypt brought about by the counsels of Joseph, and displays the occasion as one every way worthy of that Divine interference which is assuredly implied in the inspired narrative. Israel is about to dwell for some centuries in the land of Egypt. Therefore the social institutions of Egypt underwent a great improvement and amelioration; in order that in the enjoyment of peace Israel might multiply therein, and wax exceeding mighty. Clearly this was the primary object of the interposition. Reflexly, also, the change was necessarily promotive of the consolidation and good government of Egypt itself.

The monumental proofs of the occurrence of this modification in the social condition of Egypt are just as striking as any of those which have hitherto engaged us. The tombs of the eras that follow that of APHOPHIS bear unequivocal testimony to a great political change having taken place in the condition of the inhabitants

* We must here be understood to discourse of ancient times only. The great changes undergone by the human mind in the vast chasm that yawns between these times and ours renders all attempts at analogy between the one and the other simply ridiculous.

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of Egypt at this period, when we compare them with those of the preceding epochs. In Old Egypt scarcely an act of any Pharaoh is recorded in the tombs of his subjects. Nor does his name appear at all save in the names of their estates, and sometimes in their own names. But in the tombs of the New Kingdom, or that of the times that followed Joseph, all this is reversed. There is scarcely a tomb of any importance the principal subject of which is not some act of service or devotion performed by the excavator to the reigning Pharaoh. We shall have abundant opportunities, in the course of the inquiry before us, of showing the reality of this remarkable change, the cause of which we so plainly discover in the legislation of Joseph.

Nor is this difference confined to the secular princes of Egypt only. The inspired narrative visibly requires in addition that a difference at the least equally perceptible should appear in the condition of the priesthood, at the two epochs now under comparison. Such is certainly the case. We found the priest's office in Old Egypt to be a mere appendage to the secular functions of the princes and nobles, performed, invariably in the cases where the performance is depicted, by proxy, and by the hand of menials and dependents. The contrast to this presented by the monuments of the later epoch is marvellously perfect. The priest has risen greatly in authority and importance in the state. His office becomes more and more exclusive and hereditary, until at length he ascends the throne of the Pharaohs, and rules Egypt by a dynasty of priest-kings.* For all this

* The 21st Dynasty.

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the inspired narrative gives us the amply-sufficient cause in the forbearance of APHOPHIS to exact payment for the corn supplied to the temples during the famine.

The remains of the institutions of Joseph are likewise traceable in the account of the laws and customs of Egypt preserved in the Greek tradition. We find from Diodorus,* that the tripartite division of the soil, so clearly implied in the Scripture account of the reforms of Joseph, was in full force at the time of his visit to Egypt. For the sake of convenience, the whole had been included in one arrangement. The fifth of Pharaoh had been commuted for the cession of a determinate portion of the surface of every nome (or province) of Egypt; so that there were three classes of landed proprietors only, the priest, the king, and the soldier, or secularity. This is evidently the arrangement made by Joseph, with a very trifling modification, notwithstanding that 1800 years elapsed between his days and the visit of Diodorus.

The existence of the same proprietorship of the soil is just as plainly assumed in the Rosetta inscription † (not to multiply citations), where the land of the priests is exempted from the taxes imposed on the rest of Egypt.

Thus clearly does the Greek tradition testify to the reality of the arrangement specified in the sacred text; to the effect of which on society, the preceding

* Lib. i. c. 73. See also ii. 37 to 57, where he ascribes the removal of the Egyptians into cities to SESOOSIS.

† Greek, line 16, vol. i. p. 55.

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and following monuments bear evidence just as unequivocal.

It is inevitable to such a position as that of APHOPHIS with his subjects at the end of the famine, that certain modifications would take place in the return of the several estates which had now become Pharaoh's by direct purchase. It could scarcely be, that exactly the same land-marks would define the boundaries of the princes of Egypt after the famine as before. The one transaction of APHOPHIS with his princes, recorded in the inspired narrative,* shows him to have been a vigorous and firm as well as a just ruler. Doubtless, therefore, in the redistribution of the estates of the princes of Egypt neither their merits nor their demerits would be overlooked by him. The loyalty and good service of certain of them would be rewarded, and at the expense of others who had no such claim upon the favour of their sovereign. Many changes of this nature would doubtless take place throughout the whole extent of the land of Egypt. The exciting and irritating nature of such modifications, the stir and movement which they would originate in the entire community, the fierce resentments of those who had lost, and the equally fiery loyalty of those who had gained, by the royal distribution, we need not describe. They would assuredly be exhibited; and the misty and turbid history of the troublous times that followed the reign of APHOPHIS is the unmistakable proof of their reality and of their inevitable effects.

* Gen. xl.

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APHOPHIS or PHIOPS died in the 80th year of his age, after a reign of 61 years, either seven or ten years after the first immigration of Israel. He was interred in the pyramid which his father began, and which he had completed, immediately above Memphis. His son MELANERES reigned in his stead.

ml-n-re, MELANERES.

The position of this monarch at Karnak (C 16) shows him to have been the successor of PHIOPS. As the reign of the latter was long and peaceful, we can scarcely err in assuming that MELANERES was his son. His position on the same monument makes us acquainted with the great transaction of his reign. The king of Upper Egypt, his cotemporary, who sits immediately below him, is a viceroy, (B 15), "the divinely good lord of the two (banks of the Nile) [and] viceroy." It is impossible to mistake this indication. MELANERES took Thebes from the Upper Egyptians, and in his days all Egypt Proper was under the rule of the so-called Shepherd-kings. This is the single certainty that we possess regarding his reign. He appears in the very obscure arrangement of the upper line of Abydos (A 20), with the change in his name, which we elsewhere noted * in that of MENCHERES, and found to mean that he had assumed the titles and attributes of Horus in the

* Vol. i. p. 334.

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temple of Osiris at Abydos. It may be inferred from hence that MELANERES also was similarly invested, and that during the lifetime of his father he was the viceroy of Upper Egypt, of which Abydos was a part.

The rest of the monumental memorials of MELANERES are very slight. A tablet at Assouan, on the extreme southern limit of Egypt, represents him standing on the symbols of both Egypts, wearing the northern crown and worshipped as a conqueror. This remain exactly confirms the indication of Karnak. MELANERES expelled the Upper Egyptians from the entire monarchy; and the present tablet was sculptured upon the occasion of the cession to him of the last position they had maintained there. It is to be noted that on his standard this king assumed the characters which we found on that of TATCHERES, and whence was evidently copied the name of SEPHRES.* We shall find this indication of value when the obscure question of his successors is before us.

MELANERES likewise wrote his name once on the rock at Hamamat, on the occasion of hewing granite from thence. There is but one other memorial of him. A prince named *Atfu*, at Chenoboskion, was priest to the pyramid of MELANERES, and also to those of his father APHOPHIS, and of his great-grandfather SAITES. Its name was thus written .

MELANERES has no place in the Greek lists. This was also the case with MŒRIS, his grandfather. The

* Vol. i. p. 311.

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circumstance in itself strongly suggests that the same arrangement took place in regard of both monarchs. After the death of MŒRIS, his father, APHOPHIS put the crown of Upper Egypt on the head of his son. His career was brief though glorious; probably enough he fell in battle. APHOPHIS long survived him. For these reasons MELANERES has no place in the succession of the kings of Egypt. There are no dated monuments of his reign; we therefore know nothing of its duration.

We are now in a position to lay before the reader the completed diagram of the 31 kings of the Chamber of Karnak that face to the left of the doorway.* For the convenience of such a synoptical view of it, we here repeat the whole of this portion of the chamber, with the references to the pages of our history of its several kings. The reader is, we trust, now familiar with its arrangement. It will likewise be unnecessary to trouble him with the further expression of our sense of its value and importance to our inquiry.

The two successors of APHOPHIS on the throne of Lower Egypt have no place in the genealogies either of Karnak or Abydos. We shall presently find the cause of this to have been that during the whole of their reigns a race of Aphophean kings of Upper Egypt reigned at Thebes, and that it was with them only that the Mencherian Pharaohs of the subsequent epoch claimed affinity.

The monumental history of these kings is by no

* Page 111.

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KINGS OF LOWER EGYPT.

PLATE D.		8 SAITES. 16th dyn. ii. 59.	7 SEPHURIS. 3rd dyn. i. 253.	6 SORIS. 4th dyn. i. 267.	5 ONNOS. 5th dyn. i. 313.	4 ACHES. 2nd dyn. i. 251.	3 *erased.*	2 *erased.*	1 SEMEMPSES. 1st dyn. i. 245.
PLATE C.	9 MENES. Proto-mon. i. 226.	10 Viceroy of Memphis. ii. 14.	11 Prince Viceroy of Memphis. ii. 24.	12 Prince AMENEMES III. 12th dyn. ii. 29, 35.	13 Physician Viceroy of Memphis. ii. 38.	14 OTHOES. 10th dyn. ii. 57.	15 APHOPHIS. 16th dyn. ii. 80.	16 MELANERES. 17th dyn. ii. 108.

KINGS OF UPPER EGYPT.

PLATE B.		8 AMENEMES. 11th dyn. i. 379.	10 AMENEMES II. 12th dyn. ii. 24.	11 SESORTOSIS II. 12th dyn. ii. 29.	12 SESORTOSIS III. 12th dyn. ii. 38.	13 AMENEMES IV. 12th dyn. ii. 45, 59.	14 SKEMIOPHRIS. 12th dyn. ii. 78.	15 Viceroy of Thebes. 17th dyn. ii. 108.
PLATE A.		9 Son of AMENEMES. 12th dyn. ii. 16.	7 ACHTHOES. 11th dyn. i. 370.	6 NESTERES. 11th dyn. i. 369.	5 USERCHERES. 11th dyn. i. 369.	4 NUBECHERES. 11th dyn. i. 369.	3 MENTHESUPHIS. 11th dyn. i. 366.	2 SENUCHERES. 11th dyn. i. 363.	1 MENCHERES. 5th dyn. i. 362.

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means extensive. Remarkably in accordance with the indication afforded by their non-appearance in the genealogies, their remains are mainly in the cemetery of Memphis. It is not difficult to conceive that when Abydos, or its neighbourhood, was no longer at their command, the kings and nobles of Lower Egypt should return to the primitive burial-place of their ancestors. Neither does idolatry, at any period or place of its history, seem ever to have been at a loss for expedients whereby a neglected shrine or a polluted sanctuary should suddenly rise again to fame and sanctity, whenever reasons of policy demanded the change. Such a resuscitation the repute of the cemetery of Memphis experienced on the death of APHOPHIS. The political relations of Lower Egypt with Abydos had undergone alterations which greatly increased the already sufficiently pressing inconvenience of the journey of the dead to Abydos. Under these circumstances, a tradition or revelation (possibly both), disclosed the important fact, that the mummy of Osiris, in the hidden vault of the land of Touth, was incomplete, and that the missing members were still in the Busiris of Memphis. The Greek tradition is our authority for the genuineness of this disclosure.* It affords us another proof of how much of history there really is in it when we can separate the facts from the fables, and arrange them in their right places. The cemetery of Memphis actually did undergo such a vicissitude as these circumstances require. It lost its reputation for a century or two, and then recovered it again.

* Plut. *De Iside*, c. 14.

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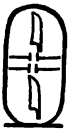
JANNES.

There are but very few monuments of the reign of JANNES. It appears from the inscription on the tomb of the physician, *Santemhet*,* that he associated with himself on the throne of Lower Egypt his son ASSES. One memorial of his reign besides this is still extant, and one only. The porphyry of Hamamat was quarried for a block whence to form the model of a sacred boat in the course of it. JANNES is said in the lists to have reigned over Egypt for 50 years and 1 month. Most probably, he committed to his son some of the cares of royalty; and, in consideration of this, assigned to him all its honours. We have met with a similar instance or two of such paternal affection already. We shall find also others, as we proceed with our inquiry.



ASSES.

The monumental history of this king, as compared with the account of him in the Greek tradition, is exactly in the same state as that of his predecessor, AMENEMES III. According to the former authority, he was a most munificent and prosperous monarch; whereas we are told by the latter that he was most unfortunate. Strangest of all, the same misfortune is declared by it to have befallen both kings. AMENEMES III. lost Memphis to the Shepherds. The Shepherd-

* Tomb 26, Ghizeh. His name means, "he who rejoices the heart."

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king ASSES was expelled from Memphis by the native Pharaoh AMOSIS. We have verified the tradition, notwithstanding, in the case of AMENEMES III.; we do not fear being able to do so in that of ASSES likewise.

Six tombs at Ghizeh and Sakkarah are still extant, constructed by the courtiers of ASSES. In no other monuments in Egypt is the same elaborate perfectness of finish to be found as in these. They surpass, if possible, those of APHOPHIS near Abydos. They are characterized by a studied effort exactly to copy the style and designs of the more ancient tombs in the same cemetery, rather than those of the immediately preceding epoch. The details of many of them are of great interest.

The tomb numbered 25, at Ghizeh, was constructed by one of the princes of the court of ASSES, named *Ptha-otph.* He was a priest presiding over the funeral rites. He was especially charged with the decoration, with polished granite, of the palace of ASSES, at Memphis; of the quays on the banks of a canal from the Nile, which passed through or terminated in the precinct of the temple of Phtha in the same city; of the judgment-hall of ASSES; and of his tomb, which we shall presently find to have been the pyramid begun by TATCHERES. To this last construction he added two colossal statues of the king in polished porphyry. By another of those coincidences, which would be deemed incredible in the archæology of any other country but Egypt, the quarry-mark of Ptha-otph still remains on the rock of Hamamat; and informs us that he hewed from thence blocks wherewith

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to decorate the constructions of his master ASSES. This remarkable circumstance suggests moreover the very important inference, that the granite quarries of Upper Egypt were not at the command of ASSES, otherwise he would have doubtless availed himself of them on account of their convenience for water-carriage on the Nile.

The tomb of the physician and funeral priest,* who, like Joseph, had two names in Egypt, *Santemhet*, "joy in the heart," and *Meh-ran-nufe*, "whose name is full of blessings," is also of the epoch of ASSES. He had great possessions. On the very mutilated walls of his tomb, the names of 42 different estates are yet legible. The taste for antiquity which prevailed in the court of ASSES is curiously illustrated in the names of them. Three retain the name of their original reclaimer CECHOUS, of the 2nd dynasty, and one of his palace. One was named after SORIS of the 4th dynasty; two of them were reclaimed by ONNOS and one by TATCHERES, both of the 5th dynasty; while a son or attendant of his is named "cup-bearer to SUPHIS." The prayer, however, to Osiris in Touth, which appears in the same compartment, at once proves the correctness of our arrangement of the era of ASSES, even were there no other data upon which to form our judgment.

The prince Menufe, who was of the blood-royal, superintended the construction of the palace of ASSES and of his tomb, which we find to have been the unfinished pyramid of TATCHERES,† of the 5th dynasty. Menufe was priest to the pyramid of TATCHERES. Its revenues must have been very

* Ghizeh, 25, 27. † Vol i. p. 305.

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large; consisting, apparently, of charges upon estates or districts. Long files of attendants appear before Menufe laden with produce of various kinds, but he does not appear to have possessed any estate of his own. The remains of his magnificent tomb have been all removed to Berlin by Dr. Lepsius.

Sanufe was another of the princes of the court of ASSES. He was one of the judges of the land, besides possessing many other titles and honours. He seems to have been the superintendent of the lands whence were derived the revenues of the palace of ASSES. The name of one of these estates is highly important for the verification of the place in the history of Egypt which, upon the authority of the monuments only, we have ventured to assign to ASSES and the illustrious line of kings his immediate predecessors. This estate is named "*for the palace of Asses, the land of re-saotp-het*," that is, of AMENEMES I., by his name in Lower Egypt.* Here is direct proof, if any were wanting, that ASSES and his race flourished in times posterior to the epoch of the 12th dynasty. There are also other proofs to be collected from the inscriptions on this tomb (which is extensive and of stately dimensions) of the same fact. For instance, he worships the female Amun, whom we have discovered elsewhere to have been first made into a goddess at Luxor in eastern Thebes, and by the same AMENEMES I.

Though the wall of this tomb † on which the estates

* *Above*, p. 14. The ring is of course omitted. This tomb belonged to one of the opposite faction. † Ghizeh, 53.

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are represented is much mutilated, eighteen are nevertheless still visible there. Eleven of them were reclaimed by ASSES himself, one by CECHOUS, and one by SORIS; the remaining four were devoted to the palace of ASSES.

The whole of the tombs, which bear the name of ASSES, were of far greater dimensions than those of the more ancient epochs, which occur in the same cemetery. They exactly resemble in this particular the tombs of Melawee, Beni-hassan, and other localities in the vast cemetery of Abydos.

This and all the other indications in these magnificent tombs, tell unmistakably that the reign of ASSES was long, peaceable, and prosperous. His works of engineering, in the neighbourhood of Memphis, must have been of vast extent. Even in the mutilated records that remain to us, we read the names of more than thirty different plots of land that were first added by him to the soil of Egypt.

ASSES is said in the lists to have reigned at Memphis for 49 years and 2 months. Afterwards, the Lower Egyptians, or Shepherds, were expelled from Memphis by AMOSIS. ASSES, most probably, perished in the defence. These events, however, belong to our next chapter.

We have now gone through the monumental remains of the so-called Shepherd dynasty of the kings of Egypt, and found them to be exactly the monarchs which the indirect or collateral tradition of the Greeks palpably required them to have been, in whose long and peaceable reigns a subject so difficult, and yet so

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imperatively needful to civilized man as the correct computation of time, would be likely to receive the careful attention which would be required, in order to the improvements in it which are ascribed to them. Though we have found on the monuments that the five days of the epact were added to the year before the times of SAITES, doubtless this monarch made some improvement in the application of them in which the tradition originated. We have already noticed the still further refinement attempted in the days of ASSES, in the addition of half-a-day to each month. The monuments of his reign, which we have just examined, indicate plainly the refined state of society in which such a suggestion must have arisen.

A taste for vast constructions of all kinds, gorgeously decorated, evidently pervaded the whole of society in the days of this illustrious race of kings. The palaces of MŒRIS, of APHOPHIS, and of ASSES, must have exceeded all that Egypt had ever seen before for glory and for beauty. The solitary one of them that the fanaticism of the Amonians allowed to remain unrased to the ground was in the time of the Greeks the wonder of all Lower Egypt. To what extent the same ruthless spoliators marred and defaced the grand constructions wherewith APHOPHIS had decorated Memphis, we may probably be soon in a condition to state more particularly, if the excavations which have been so auspiciously begun by the French government should be continued. We can only say at present that there is nothing at Thebes to compare with the gallery, more than 1500 feet in length, which formed the cemetery of the temple

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of Apis. The discovery of this wonderful work is one of the first-fruits of the excavation. It was our strong impression, while surveying the ruins of Memphis, that its temples and palaces had been on a scale of magnificence which equalled those of Thebes, at any rate.

The tombs of the princes of all the kings of this epoch largely surpassed those of the preceding dynasty, the 12th, both in their dimensions and the profuse and elaborate style of their decorations. The vaults of Melawee very far exceed those of Beni-hassan in all their dimensions. The reliefs also of those that have escaped destruction are of a far higher character in point of art. The same is the case with the tombs at Schech-Zaid and other localities, wherein the princes of this epoch made their tombs. Besides these, we noticed, in the cemetery of Memphis, many tombs of the same colossal dimensions, but studiously mutilated throughout, except their vaulted roofs, which were painted in patterns of exquisite taste, and with great delicacy and beauty* of finish. These, we doubt not, were of the epoch which we have just noticed, being unfinished at the time of the capture of Memphis. They were destroyed, together with its temples and palaces. Those tombs that have escaped were doubtless closed up when that event occurred.

Thus has it been shown from the monuments, that the kings in whose reign Joseph was prime minister of

* We believe the tombs marked 24, 27, and 31, in Lepsius's ground-plots of Sakkarah, to be among those we noted as thus distinguished.

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Egypt were among the greatest and most magnificent that had ever swayed the destinies of that kingdom. The elicitation of this fact has harmonized the histories of Israel and Egypt, it is true; but it has also restored to the latter history an important leaf which had been long and, as it seemed, hopelessly lost.

The actual lapse of time between the immigration of Israel and the outburst of fierce destructive fanaticism, which swept away all traces of the Aphophean kings from Upper Egypt and Memphis, we shall find hereafter not much to have exceeded 70 years; so that JANNES and ASSES must have been co-regent for many years. The death of Joseph took place exactly 70 years after the immigration. Nothing is more frequent in ancient history than that the death of a wise and prudent ruler should be closely followed by anarchies and disasters to the nation over which he had exercised authority. It was an inevitable consequence of the infancy of society, that individual character should possess an overwhelming amount of influence; such as in the present state of the world we find it difficult to realize.

The history which will now require our attention is that of Upper Egypt and Nubia during the interval between the death of MELANERES and the descent of the Amonian fanatics upon Memphis, under the standard of AMOSIS. Its proximate duration is 80 years only; nevertheless, it is involved in intricacies, and beset with difficulties, far more formidable than any with which we have hitherto had to contend. This inquiry will form the subject of another chapter.

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CHAPTER III.

THE GREEK LISTS.—THE CHAMBER OF KARNAK.—THE KINGS THAT FACE TO THE RIGHT.—THE TURIN PAPYRUS.—ITS HISTORICAL USES.—ARRANGEMENT OF THE CO-REGENCIES.—THE MENCHERIAN PHARAOHS.—MENTHESUPHIS II.—HIS DEVOTION TO SA.—THE LAKE OF ETHIOPIA.—ITS DRAINAGE OCCASIONED THE SEVEN YEARS PLENTY AND FAMINE.—OBSCURE KINGS OF THE 13TH DYNASTY.—DESCENDANTS OF THE VICEROY OF THEBES.—SARCOPHAGI.—ALL EXECUTED AT ABYDOS.—CLOSE UNION BETWEEN THE UPPER EGYPTIAN SHEPHERDS AND THE MENCHERIAN PHARAOHS.—INTERMARRIAGES.—POLITICAL CAUSES OF THE FALL OF MEMPHIS.

BEFORE entering upon the very obscure question which is now before us, it will be desirable carefully to review the several documents that may serve to illustrate it, and to estimate the amount of safe guidance we are likely to derive from them.

The Bible, which has shed so clear a light upon the cotemporary history of Lower Egypt, takes no note of that of the Upper Country; for Israel sojourned as we have seen in the Delta. The changes, moreover, which followed the fall of Memphis, we shall find neither to have effected its internal government nor their well-being. The history of Israel only is recorded there, as we need scarcely repeat.

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The Greek lists and their title to our confidence have already been largely discussed. The facts that we have found to lie hid beneath their mutilations and corruptions everywhere, forbid us to leave them unexamined, even in the place now before us, where we have already detected much dishonest interpolation.

If we carefully consider in the several copies of these lists the dynasties which fill up the present interval (from the 13th to the 17th inclusive), we shall find that, though differing hopelessly in the enumeration, they agree in one particular. The several dynasties reigned alternately at Thebes in Upper Egypt, and at Memphis and Xois in Lower Egypt. This circumstance in itself strongly suggests the fact we have ascertained, of two rival pretensions reigning at the same time in the two Egypts. It would even appear that the original records, whence these lists were copied, formally stated this double succession; for the remark in the copy of Africanus, "the Shepherds and the Thebans reigned together,"* most probably referred to the whole interval, though in the ordinary arrangement it is limited to the 17th dynasty only. In the copy of Eusebius also, the Shepherd-king ASSES is made the last of the 17th dynasty, and therefore the immediate predecessor of AMOSIS, the founder of the 18th. This also proves to be the fact.

We do not apprehend that any other certainties than these can be derived from the Greek lists. The numbers of both kings and years we have already dealt

* Ὁμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐβασίλευσαν (Sync. p. 61).

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with. They are the impudently gross fictions of the priests of Alexandria. The kings, moreover, of these five dynasties are all nameless with the exception of the six Shepherd-kings, whose names we have found to be nick-names. We must, therefore, betake ourselves to other authorities for the history of which we are in search.

It may, perhaps, be remembered, that in our first description of the Chamber of Karnak * we stated that it contained the names of 61 kings, and that the 31 kings which faced the left of the entrance were older than the 30 that faced the right. The great value which this genealogy has most justly acquired with us, by its elucidations of the foregoing portions of our inquiry, constrains us to turn at once to its remaining division as our most trustworthy guide through our present difficulty.

We have said that the 30 kings which faced the left reigned after the 31 which faced the right. We have now to lay down the monumental data which prove this order of succession. To do so, we must once more bring before our readers the broken papyrus roll now in the museum at Turin, which Champollion ascertained to be a list of the kings of Egypt.

The miserably mutilated state of this papyrus and its conjectural restoration by the German student Seyffarth, we have already explained.† The seventh column of this restoration‡ commences with the two last monarchs of the 12th dynasty, who, as we have

* Vol. i. p. 361. † *Ib.* p. 227. ‡ Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. v.

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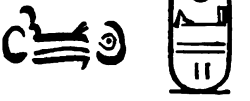
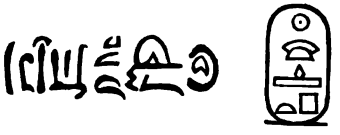
already stated, face to the left from the entrance in the Chamber of Karnak. Their second successor is one of the kings facing  to the right of the entrance to the same chamber (F 4). At the commencement of col. viii., which happily coheres with column vii., is another name also recorded  at Karnak among the kings facing to the right (G 2). This coincidence, which was first pointed out by Dr. Hincks,* affords certain and satisfactory ground for the assumption that the kings in the Chamber of Karnak, who face to the right, belong to a later epoch than those that face to the left. We are ashamed to add that this fact is the single contribution towards the history of Egypt which has yet been afforded by the Turin papyrus; and still worse, it is also the only one that we shall probably ever derive from it. Such is the vagueness of form in the hieratic characters, that no two students are yet agreed as to the import of the majority of the kings' names contained in it. To those who are possessed of the time, the tact, and the patience, upon which the study of it is sure to make ample demands, we heartily wish success.† We must,

* *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* vol. iii. (second series) p. 149. The 12th dynasty in col. vii. had been discovered by Lepsius seven years before (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 52).

† M. Emanuel de Rougè has been far more successful than any of his predecessors or cotemporaries in his interpretations of the hieratic texts (see p. 91, Note).

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however, confess our doubts that it is history at all, in the precise acceptation of the word. It appears to us to be an historic myth of a very late period of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, drawn up for the instruction of the young priests, and intended to facilitate their study of the hieroglyphics. Such was evidently the intention of many of the hieratic texts that accompany hieroglyphic inscriptions. They are scolia for the explanation of difficulties. It is a strange mutation in the relative measures of perspicuity of the two, that now the text should be the key to the scolion. Such is the fact, nevertheless. These hieratic comments, which in ancient times were doubtless made perfectly clear to the scholars by the oral elucidations of the master hierophant, are scarcely to be understood by the modern student; who willingly turns from the formless ambiguity of their characters to the clear precise limnings of the hieroglyphs. It was the facility with which the hieratic character was written that led to its general adoption at the late periods in which it came into use.

If we have rightly divined the purpose for which the Turin papyrus was compiled, it will certainly follow that it was a history of the succession of the kings of Egypt, written for the express purpose of prepossessing the minds of the young persons, for whose use it was intended, with notions of the antiquity of the kingdom as inflated as it was possible to induce them to receive. The proof of this is evident enough. The list begins with dynasties of gods reigning in Egypt for untold millennia. Then follow the demi-gods, whose rule in

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Egypt lasted for 23,200 years. MENES and the rest of the mortals, down probably to AMOSIS, the conqueror of Memphis, follow these, as in the Greek lists, which were evidently copied from similar documents. We repeat the same objection, *in limine*, to this Egyptian original that we before urged against the Greek translations. If we admit all the 250 kings which it probably enrolled as the names of real men, upon what principle do we reject all the gods? It is just as easy to invent the one as the other, and to write the names of fictitious kings in hieratic characters as in Greek or any other letters. In a point of general direction, like the one we have deduced from it, the Turin papyrus may serve as history; but to translate, as best we may, the hieratic characters into hieroglyphics, and to present them in the order in which they occur there, and upon its sole authority, as authentic lists of the kings of Egypt, is in our judgment to write history upon very slender evidence.

We return to the far surer and more precise indication of the Chamber at Karnak. We found there that the kings in the two lower rows or planes had reigned in Upper Egypt, and those in the two upper ones in Lower Egypt. We found, moreover, that the two divisions ranged cotemporaneously so far as the length of the several reigns and other circumstances admitted. The internal arrangement we found to be as follows: the oldest king of Lower Egypt (after the father-king MENES) sat in the uppermost row furthest from the doorway. Immediately beneath him, in the lowermost row, sat MENCHERES, the first king of Upper Egypt.

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The successors of both sat before them in the order of their succession. It does not seem possible that we can be mistaken in assuming that the same arrangement also took place with the kings that faced to the right. We therefore assume that in the mutilated name (H 1) on the uppermost plane, we have that of the successor of MELANERES on the Shepherd throne of Upper Egypt, and that the three entirely erased names on the ground plane (E 1, 2, 3), are those of some of the feeble successors of SKENIOPHRIS in the Mencherian pretension.

It will, however, be incumbent upon us to explain some of the many causes that involve the successions to both crowns in utterly inextricable confusion and perplexity.

I. The viceroy of MELANERES at Thebes was himself acknowledged as king by the other pretension. In all probability he married a daughter of the reigning Upper Egyptian Pharaoh. His descendants, therefore, occupy one line or plane of the genealogy before us.

II. In the weak and fallen condition of the Upper Egyptian pretension in Ethiopia, it could not be but that the reigns would be short and turbulent. The number, therefore, of the names of Mencherian kings in Upper Egypt will very far exceed that of the rival pretension in Lower Egypt during this interval, where we have seen that the reigns were remarkably long.

It is with these cautions that we give the following as the arrangement of the kings that face the right of the entrance in the Chamber of Karnak:

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SONS OF THE VICEROY OF MELANERES	Planes	H. G.
MENCHERIAN PHARAOHS	„	F. E.

To explain the correspondence of these planes, we must once more call to mind the different circumstances under which these two lines of kings would exercise their authority. The viceroy and his descendants reigned at peace over the greater portion of all that had ever been Upper Egypt, and up to its extreme southern limit. This pacification we assume to have been made during the reign of APHOPHIS, and possibly enough about the time of the immigration of Israel. Being thus free from war on both borders, it would follow as a high probability that their reigns would be comparatively long, and that in the proximate interval of 70 years, which is now before us, the number of reigns would not greatly exceed that of the Lower Kingdom; where, as we have found, it was filled up with the latter years of APHOPHIS, and with the reigns of JANNES and ASSES.

With the Mencherian Pharaohs the case is altogether different. The interval of time, the kings for which must necessarily have been arranged in planes E and F of the Chamber of Karnak, is longer than this by a considerable part of the long reign of APHOPHIS; being the time that elapsed from the capture of Abydos and the death of SKENIOPHRIS to the conquest of Thebes by MELANERES; a period of several years' duration.

In the next place, the reduced and feeble condition of these kings both as to numbers and territory, the

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constant reverses they experienced from the armies of the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs, and their ultimate expulsion from the bounds of Egypt into the newly conquered and inhospitable wastes of Nubia and Ethiopia, would inevitably tend to curtail the duration of their reigns, and to add thereby to the number of kings in the genealogy. Even after the pacification of MELANERES, when, having ceded the whole of Egypt to their rivals, they seem to have been allowed the possession of Nubia and Ethiopia without further molestation on their northern border, they had doubtless still to contend with the warlike tribes of Cush and Phut; who, having been recently expelled from thence, and but imperfectly subdued, would incessantly harass the broken and dispirited fugitives who now held their ancient land in possession.

These are the circumstances which have so modified the arrangement of this portion of the Chamber of Karnak, that the Upper Egyptian succession commences at E 1 some 30 years before the corresponding Lower Egyptian line (*plane* H), but terminates with AMOSIS, the conqueror of Memphis. On the other hand, the descendants of the viceroy of Thebes, who sit over against them, extend as far as the father-in-law of THOTHMOSIS, the constructer of the chamber, who lived a century after AMOSIS. So that the successions correspond neither at the beginning nor the end; and the duration of the Lower Egyptian line (*planes* H and G) exceeds that of the Upper Egyptian line over against it (*planes* E and F) by nearly a century, though there are the same number of kings in both.

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We commence with the Mencherian succession of Pharaohs. The last event we have recorded concerning it is the expulsion of SKENIOPHRIS from Crocodilopolis, which we assume to have been one of the earliest feats of arms of APHOPHIS, performed probably enough by his father in his name during his childhood, or even infancy. The death of SKENIOPHRIS followed shortly afterwards. Her successor's name is, as we have already said, erased in the Chamber of Karnak. On referring to other monuments, however, we find frequently inscribed the name of a king written in two rings thus: *ra nb,* *tt month—hophth.* It will be noticed that this name differs from that of MENTHESUPHIS, of the 11th dynasty, in one character only. Nevertheless, he must have been a different person, as he evidently belongs to a later epoch of the history of Egypt. The years of his reign, and the names of the months, are frequently inscribed on his monuments. We have elsewhere explained that these first appear in the times of AMENEMES. We cannot therefore hesitate in placing MENTHESUPHIS II. among the successors of SKENIOPHRIS. The memorials of this monarch are of a highly honourable character. He quarried blocks of porphyry from Hamamat, on six different occasions, for the decoration of the temples of Thebes, which city his namesake and ancestor had founded. Three of these quarry-marks are dated in the first year of his reign, and three in the second. There is, in addition to these, another mark in the same quarry commemorating his devotion to the idol of Coptos. It is merely

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conjecturally that we can place the peace, which must have been ratified between him and the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs, some time in the course of the joint reigns of MŒRIS and APHOPHIS. MENTHESUPHIS II., however, seems wisely to have avoided collision with his formidable neighbours in the north, and to have pursued, with zeal and energy, the career of conquest of his ancestors to the southward. We find him commemorating his progress on the rocks of the island of Conosso, which is on the southern frontier of Egypt. In one of them he boasts of having conquered fifteen tribes of the Phutim. It is well worthy of note, that in both these reliefs he constitutes the idol of Sais, the god of his newly-conquered territory; and evidences the excess of his devotion to him by worshipping him on the one tablet under the impersonation of Nu, the god of the Nile; and on the other under that of Month, the god of war, and the tutelary of Thebes, his capital city: thus making him superior to both those gods. We have already seen that the loss of Memphis and all northern Egypt to his ancestors was imputed in his times to the indignities put by the son of AMENEMES upon the idol of Sais.* It perfectly comports with the servile spirit of all idolatry to find, both in him and his descendants, a studious endeavour to propitiate the offended god by frequent acts of devotion to him. We here discover that in the times of MENTHESUPHIS II. this conviction was not only unimpaired but increasing. He adorned the temples of the angry deity at Thebes and Coptos, though the latter city was

* Above, p. 41.

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in the possession of the rival dynasty. He also, as we have seen, dedicated to him his new conquest in Ethiopia, and ascribed to his aid the victories he had won over the Phutim.

We do not know that the reign of MENTHESUPHIS II. lasted more than two years; it cannot have far exceeded that duration. Most probably, he fell in battle in Ethiopia. We assume his name to have been the first of the three erased kings in plane E of the Chamber of Karnak (E 1).

We shall probably find assistance in harmonizing the very obscure and difficult succession which follows with the cotemporary reigns in Lower Egypt, by the explanation of another of those marvels which meet us so frequently in our progress down the stream of the history of Egypt. At several points in Nubia and Ethiopia, at Semneh, for example, at Kummeh, and other places, there are registries on the cliffs that overhang the Nile of the height of the annual overflow. All these registries are dated by the year of the reigning king. The earliest of them are in the reign of SESORTOSIS III. There are several of that of AMENEMES III., and for many years, from the first year of his reign to the forty-third. There are, lastly, some similar registries during the reign of one of the kings in the portion of the Chamber of Karnak which is now before us, and then the entries cease altogether. The average height of these registries at all points above the highest level ever attained by the yearly overflow at the present day, is thirty feet. Dr. Lepsius was the first to point out this remarkable circumstance, which he observed in

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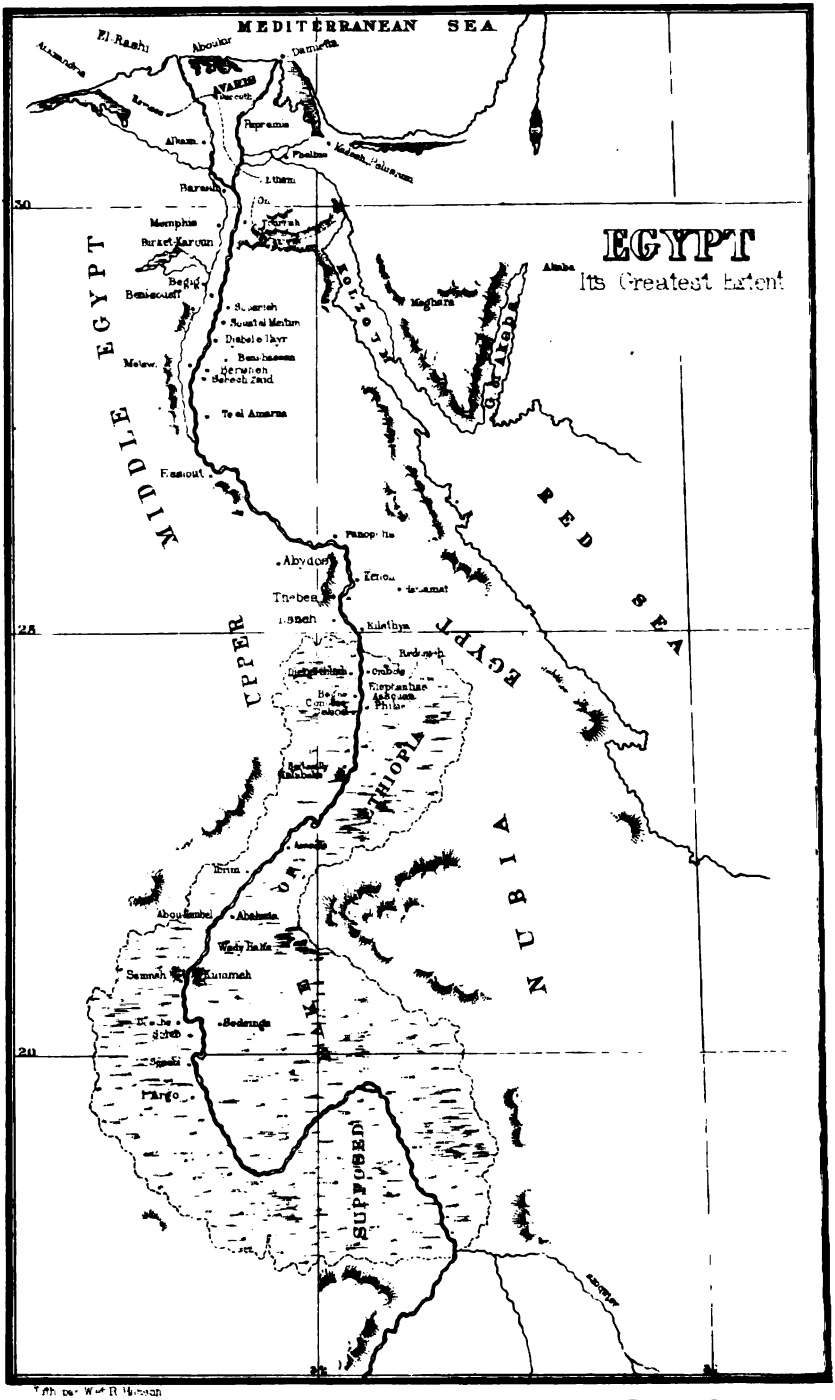

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the course of the year 1843. Shortly afterwards, Sir G. Wilkinson travelled over the same district for the express purpose of further investigating these phenomena. He discovered at the southernmost point to which his researches extended vast flats of Nile mud, many miles across, on both banks of the river. Spots in these plains are cultivated to this day by means of channels, though some of them are nine miles distant from the utmost line ever reached by the present annual overflow. He traced the same appearances downwards from the plains of Ethiopia, through the narrow valley of Nubia, over the cataracts of Syene, and as far as the red sandstone rock which crosses the Nile at Djebel Silsili. Below this point they ceased altogether. The Nile, through the rest of its course to the sea, has undergone no perceptible change of level through the many ages during which its valley has been inhabited.

It is clear from hence that in the days of the kings who have engraven their registries on the rocks, the waters of a vast lake covered the whole of the plains of Ethiopia from the very mouth of the Astaboras,* and stretched in an estuary, through the long gorge of Nubia, to the rocks of Djebel Silsili. This is the inference of Sir G. Wilkinson; the justness of which does not appear to us to admit of denial, or even of question.† Did it need corroboration, we have it in

* The last feeder of the Nile from the eastward. See *Trans. R. S. L.* vol. iv. p. 93, &c.

† See the English translation of Lepsius's Letters from Egypt (Bohn, 1853), Appendix A., pp. 507 to 532, where the impossibility of any other solution is very clearly demonstrated by Dr. Horner.

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the circumstance that the Nile itself before its junction with either of its western feeders, the Bahr el Abiad of modern geography, retains precisely the same character through the whole of the part of its course through central Africa with which we have very recently become acquainted. It frequently expands into lakes.*

We apprehend the existence of this vast lake or sea to be very distinctly shadowed forth by the Egyptian myths, which have been preserved in the Greek tradition. The priests told Herodotus† that the Nile came from the ocean, and flowed into the ocean again. The historian was greatly perplexed therewith. As he afterwards‡ tells us, he knew no river with such a source. The fact that, when first known to the Egyptians, the Nile flowed from a great lake, perfectly solves the difficulty.

The same fact accounts just as fully for the myth preserved in the Book of the Dead regarding the nocturnal course of the sun. It sank together with the Nile, and again rose together with the Nile, from a huge abyss containing infinitely more water than the river itself. This was denoted by its hieroglyphic name, *meh-nmu*, "full of water," "overflowing with water." Such was literally the case at the time when the fable was invented; and in the infancy of knowledge it was no unnatural conclusion, that the Lake of Ethiopia, whence the river flowed, and the Mediterranean, into which it emptied itself, were the two shores of one and the same abyss.

* See Werne's *Expedition to the Sources of the White Nile.*

† ii. 21. ‡ c. 23.

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We have said that one of the successors of SKENIOPHRIS has registered the height of this lake at the overflow in Ethiopia. The discharge or drainage of the lake must have occurred close upon the times of the last of these entries; for some of their immediate successors have built temples and engraved rocks, in South Egypt and Nubia, close to the present water's edge, and of course far below the surface of the lake. This discharge is, therefore, an event in the history of Egypt.

When we come to consider the mode in which this catastrophe must have occurred, it is evident that it was not by a sudden fissure of the rock of Djebel Silsili, or any other result of an earthquake, which would have allowed the whole of this huge volume of water to burst forth at once, and utterly sweep from the valley all traces of man and his works. No such event occurred, as it is perfectly useless for us to explain; and therefore no such disruption took place.

Nevertheless, the discharge of this lake must, we repeat it, be an event in the history of Egypt. The enormous disturbance which the otherwise scarcely varying phenomenon of the yearly overflow would undergo from it and the results of it, were, moreover, circumstances very likely to be recorded in the annals of a country so entirely dependent upon its recurrence.

Now, as our readers are aware, such a disturbance of the overflow really did take place late in the reign of APHOPHIS, and under the administration of Joseph. The waters of the flood, for seven years together, very far exceeded all that had ever before been known in Egypt; so that an extent of surface was brought under

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cultivation in the Delta unparalleled at any former or subsequent period. This again was followed by seven years, during which "there was neither earing nor harvest;" expressions which leave us surely to infer that in the course of them the phenomenon of the overflow never appeared at all. Let us, then, consider whether the discharge of the Lake of Ethiopia may not have been the natural cause of the seven years' plenty and of the seven years' famine.

We have only to assume that an unusually abundant overflow in the first year of the plenty should, by raising the level of the lake, overtop some mass of sand and mud which had proved a perfectly sufficient barrier so long as the water did not rise above its summit. This bank would be greatly worn by the abrasion of the water rushing over it, so that a portion of the waters of the lake itself, as well as of the overflow, would be poured upon Egypt. This over-supply produced, we apprehend, the first year of plenty. The consequences of too high a Nile would not be then disastrous as now, when all the channels are constructed and the mounds thrown up for one scarcely varying height. The prescience of Joseph would guard against its inconveniences, and also diffuse the flood far and wide over the flat desert that surrounds the Delta.

On the subsidence of the overflow, the upper surface of the now greatly depressed mud bank would be exposed for nine months together to the burning sun of Upper Egypt. Under its influence it would, to a considerable depth, crack, warp, and crumble into dust, which would be driven forward into the bed of the Nile

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the moment it was touched by the overflow of the following year. The consequence would be another great depression of the surface of the lake, and the second year of plenty.

We submit, there is nothing unreasonable in the assumption that the continuance of this process would be required for seven successive years, in order entirely to drain the Lake of Ethiopia and to bring down the Nile to its present level in this part of its course.

This point being attained, we have next to consider what would be the effect upon the overflow of the eighth year from the first bursting of the bank.

The entire drainage of the lake would leave a vast expanse of deep mud exposed to the tropical sun. Over this the blue Nile would spread itself in a broad, shoaly, much-encumbered bed, in the lowest levels. All the rest would parch in the sun, and rise into blisters, and sink into hollows, and crack into deep fissures. Here and there pools of stagnant water would remain; but by very far the greatest portion of the bottom of the former lake would be dry and undergo these changes. The effect of this state of things upon the blue Nile would be that a much smaller quantity of water than usual would appear in the river at the former issue of the lake. Not only would the water be a longer time in finding its way through a labyrinth of channels, but its wider diffusion would greatly increase the amount of evaporation.

When the overflow of the eighth year first reached what had formerly been the head of the lake, instead of its first wave being impelled to the outlet with the

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rapidity of gravitation, it would merely increase the diffusive power of the river, which would spread itself wider towards both banks of the former lake. The cracks we have described would require enormous quantities of water to fill them. The sinuosities of the cracks would still further detain the flood beneath the blaze of the sun of Ethiopia. And even if we assume the overflow of this year to have been the ordinary one, it is clear that under the circumstances but a very small portion of it would ever reach the mouth of the lake. During the six following years, it is expressly stated that "the famine was in all lands," both to the north and to the south of Egypt; so that the forests of Ethiopia as well as the pastures of Palestine were drooping for lack of moisture. Such being the case, it is obvious that the imperfect floods of such years could never find their way through this maze of cracks to the foot of the lake; and also that at least seven years would be required for the river so to work its own defined course over the plain of Ethiopia, that the phenomena of the yearly overflow should reappear in Egypt in their wonted order.

When it is further explained that our hypothesis as to the condition of the bottom of the lake is exactly that which the present state of the plain of Darfur clearly indicates to have actually prevailed, we submit that we have made out a strong case, *primâ facie*, that the proximate natural cause of the seven years of plenty and of famine was the bursting of the Lake of Ethiopia.

When we state in addition that one of the obscure

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cotemporary and rival kings of APHOPHIS, the patron of Joseph, registered the rise of the lake in Nubia and Ethiopia up to the very year of its disruption, as it would seem, we find that the plenty and famine were, like the rest of the divine dealings in Egypt, actual occurrences, the natural causes of which were foreknown and predisposed.

The value of this identification to the history of Egypt at this its most obscure period is inappreciable. The successor of AMENEMES III., who has inscribed his name on the rocks of Semneh and Kummeh, must have been the cotemporary of APHOPHIS, for he it was that expelled SKENIOPHRIS from Crocodilopolis at the beginning of his reign; and the seven years of plenty and famine also took place in the course of it.

As we now know the general arrangement of the Chamber of Karnak, we have only, therefore, to find his name there also, and then we shall be in position to synchronize the two successions of the Mencherian kings with the Shepherd Pharaohs of Lower Egypt.

We must premise that the two middle planes of this genealogy that face the right (F and G), are arranged in the reverse order of the corresponding planes on the other side (B and C). The oldest kings in planes F and G are furthest from the doorway, as in the planes above and below them. We shall presently find the reason of this.

On applying these premises to the interval before us, we find the abundant justification of the caution with which we commenced the inquiry. It appears from the Chamber of Karnak that in the portion of the

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reign of APHOPHIS, comprehended between the death of SKENIOPHRIS and the bursting of the Lake of Ethiopia, no fewer than ten kings succeeded each other on the throne of the Mencherian Pharaohs. Startling as this may appear, the monuments of these kings nevertheless go far to verify it. Taking 60 years as the proximate length of this interval, we have six years for the average of the reign of each of them; and of the three or four that have left dated records behind them, only one reaches this average. The rest are below it.

The name which Lepsius copied from a tomb at Thebes must be another of the three erased names—the successors of SKENIOPHRIS. It is inscribed thus:

The tomb is dated the first year of his reign. In the close resemblance of this name to those of MŒRIS and MELANERES, we detect the first trace of the harmony between the two rival pretensions to the crown of Upper Egypt, which certainly began about this time. We assume it to have named the successor of MENTHESUPHIS II., which is likewise erased at Karnak (E 2). We have no other authority than this genealogy for the three names that follow (E 3, *erased*), (E 4), E 4. E 5. (E 5). No record of them besides this is known to exist.

The name of the following king (E 6) is also in the same condition.

His successor (F 1), we know only from the quarry of Hamamat, whence he was on two occasions per-

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mitted by APHOPHIS to hew blocks for the decoration of the shrine of Sa at Coptos; so that this unfortunate race of monarchs still continued to ascribe their adversity to the anger of the idol of Sais, and still persevered in their efforts to propitiate him by offerings to his temple. The first of these acts of devotion was made at the commencement of his reign; the last, in its seventh year. He is the only one of his race who is known to have reigned so long. These tablets bear unmistakable and melancholy testimony that the arts of design were neglected, and had much deteriorated in Upper Egypt in his times. His name is thus written in full, *sbk-m-mahtf*, "Sevek within him," SECHEMETES.

The two following names in the Karnak genealogy are again erased (F 2 and 3), and we have no means of supplying them.

The king who has inscribed his name on the rocks of Semneh and Kummeh (F 4), immediately follows them. The registries are of the first four years of his reign. It is assumed rather than known, that he wrote his complete name thus: He is generally named SABACON I. We know nothing of the circumstances which drove forth this monarch so far into the wastes of Ethiopia, save the clear inference that they were adverse ones.

These are all the particulars we know of the brief, disastrous, and inglorious reigns of these obscure successors of the Mencherian kings. They scarcely deserve the name of history.

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The circumstances of this once illustrious line visibly revived in the remaining interval, which will bring their history up to the capture of Memphis by AMOSIS. In the course of the 80 years that intervene between this event and the bursting of the Lake of Ethiopia, their succession is represented at Karnak by four kings only. These longer reigns are the unmistakable symptom of improved circumstances.

Of the two first of these kings we can, nevertheless, give no better account than of the most obscure of their predecessors. Their names are recorded here and nowhere else (F 5),* (F 6).

F 5.

F 6.

The king that follows them ought, by the analogy of the opposite end of the chamber, to be a father-king. He sits first in the middle plane. His name is written

F 7.

(F 7). He is accordingly mentioned in a tomb at Eilethya as having returned to Egypt with 20,000 men to the joy of the Egyptians. Immediately below him sits AMOSIS (E 7), the conqueror of Memphis. We assume F 7, therefore, to be the father of AMOSIS; and that the arrangement is identical with that of the same planes at the opposite end, where AMENEMES (B 8) is the father-king, and his son, the first viceroy of Memphis, sits beneath him (A 9).

E 7.

This was the part of the chamber first sculptured.

* The hieratic transcription of this name appears in column viii. of the Turin papyrus, below the name we have just quoted from thence (*above*, p. 124).

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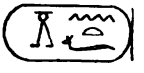
Its arrangement is such that the only displacement is that of AMOSIS, who occupies the post of honour as the conqueror of Memphis. His father sits immediately above him. The same arrangement was not practicable at the other end without the inverted order of the two planes we have already explained.

The circumstances under which the revival of the Mencherian line of kings took place will require our attention when the 18th dynasty is before us.

The Theban viceroy of MELANERES (B 15) and his successors (H 1, *seq.*), are the remaining memorials of this obscure and difficult period which will require our attention. These were, in fact, a succession of kings of Upper Egypt of the Lower Egyptian or Shepherd line, as it was afterwards nicknamed. They were co-regent with the Memphitic Pharaohs upon a perfectly amicable arrangement, as APHOPHIS with MŒRIS, and afterwards with MELANERES. The son of this last king was associated with him at Thebes on the throne under the title of  *viceroy*. This title he afterwards retained as his royal name. There can be no doubt that he and his successors reigned at Thebes over Upper Egypt, whence the Mencherian Pharaohs were entirely expelled during the reign of the successor of MENTHESUPHIS II. There appears to have been afterwards peace between the two pretensions.

The tomb of the son of MELANERES was discovered at Gournou, the cemetery of Thebes, about 30 years ago, by Passalácqua. The alabaster sarcophagus or cover was entire, and beneath it was the mummy-case not much injured. This last very interesting relic is

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now in the British Museum. The sarcophagus was removed by Dr. Lepsius in 1843. It is deposited in the Berlin Museum. This king does not assume the ring of MENES on the sarcophagus, but it is given him on the coffin. The former was the first prepared at the beginning of his co-regency. It was afterwards, when he had assumed the imperial titles, that the mummy-case was finished. An interesting memoir on this case was read some years ago by the present Bishop of Gibraltar before the Royal Society of Literature.* The inscriptions on it, as usual, are purely mythic, and embody no allusions to history.

The wooden or alabaster sarcophagus belongs to a class of deposita for the dead, instances of which have been discovered in all the great cemeteries of the valley of the Nile. They are remarkable even among the monuments of Egypt for the rigid exactitude with which they have been copied from one original, and for the absolute identity of all of them in style of art and mode of execution, in whatever locality they have been deposited. They all belong to the present epoch of our history—to the two centuries now under review, when Abydos was the necropolis of all Egypt. They were all executed in that city, and by the same college of hierogrammatists. They were used for the purpose of enclosing the mummy in its case, with all the personal offerings made to it, during its Nile voyage from Abydos to its final resting-place. The sacredness of their closure, and the fearful impiety of any attempt to violate them, are very significantly represented in

* Trans. vol. ii.

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their decorations. Over against the portals, which are most carefully depicted in the inside of these chests or lids, are the two eyes of Osiris in TOUTH, dazzled with the rays of the sun, his mythic father, and therefore full of his divinity, on the exterior. It is denoted by this, that the god himself watches over the inviolability of this sacred ark, and that the unheard-of sacrilege of any attempt upon it will be punished with his fiercest vengeance. The gates are ordinarily placed at the side next the left of the head of the deceased.

Now that their origin is understood, the study of the inscriptions and pictures on these extraordinary covers (they are mere lids without bottom), will well repay the labour of deciphering them, when a sufficient power of trained and habituated mind shall be directed to the study of the remains of Ancient Egypt. To the history of the writing of Egypt they are of especial interest; inasmuch as in them the characters are in the transition state, from the perfect picture to the cursive hint at it of the hieratic writing.*

The earliest tombs in the mountain of Gournou, the cemetery of Thebes, are likewise of the epoch now before us. They are approached by a steep incline, like the entrance to a pyramid, leading to a square vault, in which the coffin was deposited covered with its sarcophagus. They are entirely without decorations

* This writing on the Theban sarcophagi seems to be all that the skill of the artists then at Thebes could accomplish. There does seem room for a doubt that it was added on the arrival of the mummy at its final resting-place.

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of any kind on the walls.* There were no artists at Thebes in these troublous times who had skill enough to attempt it.

Of the successors of the Viceroy of MELANERES, the Chamber of Karnak is our only memorial. We copy here their names in the order of their occurrence:

H. 1.

H 2.

H 3.

H 4.

H 5.

Our reasons for concluding that they represent the succession of the so-called Shepherds in Upper Egypt will afterwards appear.

We have now to call the attention of our readers to a peculiarity in these five royal names. Three of them (H 2, H 4, and H 5), differ from names we have already copied from the corresponding co-regency of the Mencherian Pharaohs in one character only, and that either a mere index letter to regulate the pronunciation, or a grammatical form; so that the sound, not the sense, was probably modified. The resemblance between H 2 [see above], E 5
E 5.
, and F 6
F 6.
; between H 4 [see above] and F 4
F 4.
; and between H 5 [see above] and F 7
F 7.
;

* Lepsius, Abt. ii. bl. 147, 148.

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is perfectly apparent. They come in the same order in both successions. We infer that the two lines reigned together in Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, and that there was some close and intimate connection between them. They seem to have lived during the reigns of JANNES and ASSES. While these last, as we have found, recorded their memorials further to the northward than their immediate predecessors, and were probably forming alliances with the Canaanites, both in the Delta and in Palestine, a comparative coolness and distance would naturally arise between them and their co-regents of the same pretension in Upper Egypt. On the other hand, the descendants of the Viceroy of MELANERES would be induced, by this repulsive power on the northern border of their dominions, gradually to relax their hostile feelings towards the exiled family in Ethiopia. The truce would thus become a peace and an alliance; and this last would be cemented by successive intermarriages, according to the invariable practice of the family of MENES. We believe, therefore, that in all the instances before us, the Shepherd-kings were the sons-in-law of the Mencherian Pharaohs, whose scarcely-altered names they adopted.

In this comparative estrangement between the two co-regent Aphophean lines in Upper and Lower Egypt, and in the close and intimate alliance between the former of them and the Mencherian pretension in Ethiopia, consisted the political causes of the fall of the so-called Shepherd kingdom, and the re-conquest of Memphis by AMOSIS. Manetho is our authority for

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this. He expressly says, that the expulsion of the Shepherds from Memphis was accomplished by the alliance *of the kings of Thebes with the kings of the rest of Egypt*.*

The religious causes, however, of this defeat exercised a far more powerful influence in bringing it about, and will require to be investigated in the following chapter.

* τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων. (Contr. Apion. i. 14).

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CHAPTER IV.

TWO LINES OF KINGS IN UPPER EGYPT.—BURSTING OF THE LAKE OF ETHIOPIA.—ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES.—THE AMONIAN FANATICS.—RECONQUEST OF MEMPHIS.—AMOSIS.—HIS LINEAGE.—HIS INSULT TO THE GOD OF MEMPHIS.—TOMB OF PRINCE AMOSIS.—CAPTURE OF TANIS.—THE DELTA REMAINED IN THE POSSESSION OF THE SHEPHERDS.—THE XOITE PHARAOHS.—AMENOPHIS.—HIS REIGN AND ITS MONUMENTS.—MESPHRES.—HIS WARS WITH PHUT AND CUSH.—ACHENCHERES.—SUCCESS AGAINST LOWER EGYPT.—PEACE WITH IT.—AMENSES AND HER HUSBANDS.—THEIR REIGNS AND WORKS.—CHRONOLOGY.

It will have appeared, from what we have already ascertained regarding the kings of Upper Egypt during the ascendency of the so-called Shepherd dynasty in Lower Egypt, that two lines of kings were at this time also co-regent there. The successors of Melaneres and the Prince Viceroy, his son, had possession of all Upper Egypt probably from Crocodilopolis* to the cataracts of Syene. The Mencherian Pharaohs maintained with great difficulty the shadow of sovereignty in the southern dependencies of Nubia and Ethiopia.

* The extension of the worship of Sebek, in southern Egypt, seems to have taken place about this time, and probably by the Theban line of kings. Sebek was tutelary at Esneh, Ombos, Syene, and other local cities of this district, as well as at Eilethya.

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The conquest of these vast regions to the southward had been but imperfectly achieved by the hero kings of the twelfth dynasty. The native tribes, both Cushite and Phutite, were impatient of the yoke of Egypt, and threw it off upon frequent occasions. The civil broils called the Shepherd invasion, were turned by them to this account, so that the discomfited Menchérians fled before the conquering arms of Lower Egypt, into a dependency newly subjugated, and in open revolt against their authority. How hardly they struggled for existence, the quick succession of their kings at Karnak strongly testifies. With what difficulty they maintained a footing in the district, their works of construction in Nubia and Ethiopia declare just as impressively. They consist altogether of bastions faced with brick and stone, of mounds, fosses, and other military works of defence. It was in their construction that the energies of these short-lived Pharaohs were exhausted.

The bursting of the Lake of Ethiopia, we have ascertained to be the event which brought to its termination this rapid succession of short and troubled reigns. In the highest degree disastrous to Egypt Proper (save through the foresight of Joseph), it would not seem, from its very nature, calculated to be equally so to the inhabitants of what had formerly been the banks of the upper parts of the Lake. The cultivatable surface would be enormously increased; and even when the drought was at the worst, a sufficient overflow would pour down the rivers of Ethiopia to irrigate tracts of land incomparable larger than any that had

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hitherto been at the command of the inhabitants, or that they would have the means of cultivating. We venture to suggest this natural occurrence as having tended to turn the attention of all the belligerents in this broil, of Upper and Lower Egyptians, of Phutites and Cushites, from deeds of war to works of peace. Here was, on the one hand, a sudden increase of arable surface very far beyond the means of any force of men at their command to cultivate. On the other hand, corn had ceased to grow in Egypt; and, notwithstanding the granaries of Joseph, an enormous demand for it would assuredly arise from thence. The supply of this demand would still further call forth the agricultural energies of all the residents in Nubia and Ethiopia, whether Egyptians or Negroes. It would tend, moreover, to induce them to forget their former differences, not with each other merely, but also with their Shepherd neighbours in Upper Egypt, who so loudly asked of them the corn with which they were so well able to supply them.

It is said that two hostile armies, after a long march over the dusty plains of South India, once met each other at noon-day, on the opposite banks of a river. Without the interchange of a word or signal, one uncontrollable impulse seized, at the same moment, every living being in both hosts; and men, elephants, camels, and horses, rushed headlong to the sparkling waters, and drank. Thus, we imagine, began the truce between the rival kings of Upper Egypt. There was the first and great necessity of life to be supplied: the one had it, the other had it not, but could give

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for it those other necessaries of life which their rivals, as sojourners in a strange land, would require just as urgently; so that the peace between them would be one of mutual interest and advantage.

We conclude, therefore, that there was peace and perfect good understanding between the rulers of Upper Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, during the eighty years and upwards that elapsed from the bursting of the Lake of Ethiopia to the conquest of Memphis by AMOSIS. These, and the intermarriages of the several royal families consequent upon such a state of things, are the political causes to which we are able to trace this event. The religious motives of this war will now require our attention.

We have already seen that both rivalries professed the same system of mythology, and that their religious animosities were, in fact, disputes for precedence between the different gods of which it consisted. The contention between Sa and Amun, at Coptos, which we have found to have been the motive of the present civil war, did not seem to present any formidable difficulty in the way of its adjustment; now that the shrines and cities of both were under the same sovereignty. Both gods had the same indecent form. The penitence of the Menchérians for the insult offered to Sa, the elder of them, in Upper Egypt, by SESORTOSIS, had been amply expressed, and remains engraven on the rocks to this day. A very common expedient in idolatry was adopted to appease this rivalry of gods. The gods of Coptos and Luxor in Eastern Thebes, were declared to be two impersonations of one and the

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same being, who named himself, *Sa-Amun* at Coptos, and *Amun-Sa* at Thebes. Thus was the cause of the Shepherd civil broil finally removed. The oracles of both shrines proclaimed this fusion of two gods into one; and all Egypt acquiesced, from the mouth of the Astaboras to the mouths of the Nile. In this pacification, we perceive the cause of the peace and prosperity so unequivocally displayed by the monuments of JANNES and ASSES, the two last Pharaohs of the Lower Egyptian Dynasty.

There was peace then throughout all Egypt during the interval before us. Under the wise administration of Joseph, the altered circumstances of Egypt Proper were abundantly provided for. The agriculture of Nubia and Ethiopia, in its now altogether new phase of surface, would, in like manner, demand the whole of the energies both of their black and white inhabitants. These circumstances, moreover, satisfactorily account for the paucity of public monuments in both countries at this epoch; as there were no wars, there were, of course, no prisoners to build temples and excavate tombs.

The Phutites of the western desert had, at the very outset of the kingdom, been allied by marriage to the family of MENES. The proto-monarch himself, or his son, had married the Phutite princess whose family was first settled on the site of Memphis.* This circumstance was by no means forgotten in the present pacification. Intermarriages among the several royal families became very frequent. The features and com-

* Vol. i. pp. 232, 413.

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plexions, both of the Theban Pharaohs, their immediate descendants, and their queens, we shall find to furnish the unerring proof of this fact. A close and intimate union was formed among the whole of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia. Their former distinctions, both of caste and colour, were forgotten; and in the course of the interval now before us, the whole had become in a great measure one people. We have already ascribed the comparative estrangement of the so-called Shepherds in Upper Egypt from their brethren in Memphis and the Delta, to this union with their southern neighbours.

There was a large admixture of dark-skinned Phutites among this new race. Many of the peculiarities of this branch of the family of Ham have happily been preserved to us upon the monuments of Egypt of the following epoch; and among them we shall find very conspicuous, a most determined and fanatical adherence to the dogma that God is one; a truth which had so weak a hold upon the mind of the Mizraite, that it is scarcely to be discovered on any one of the extant records of his modes of thought.

The new modification of the god of Eastern Thebes would, doubtless, excite an enthusiastic furor of devotion throughout all Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, like every other novelty in idolatry. His shrine would be crowded with worshippers, and covered with offerings. Among these would, doubtless, be a large proportion of Phutite votaries, who, repudiating altogether the Egyptian doctrine that Amun was supreme god in Eastern Thebes alone, would maintain the supremacy of their

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god everywhere, and declare the gods of all other cities to be mere subordinates under Amun of Thebes. Many a dusky prophet would be seen in the streets and courts of the infant city, haranguing crowds of eager and excited listeners, upon the greatness of the god Amun, his right to the worship of all Egypt in all its cities, and the wrongs he was enduring in Lower Egypt. The doctrine would be especially agreeable to the priests of the god. The oracles beneath the pent-houses would mutter it in warning, or thunder it in response, to the successive crowds of pilgrims with whom the temple was filled, day and night. By these means a flame of fierce fanaticism would be kindled throughout Upper Egypt and Ethiopia. The right of Amun to be god in all the cities of Egypt, and the duty of his votaries to enforce his claims with the sword, would be never-failing themes with all men.

It took but little in ancient days to kindle up a war. Almost at any time—

> "Religion, freedom, vengeance, what you will,
> A word's enough to rouse mankind to kill!"

It was especially so in the infancy of the world. Happily the lust of war is now somewhat abated.

We have likewise mentioned another probable cause of discontent against the parent-government at Memphis, in the re-distribution of the lands after the famine. This, as we have said, would be a matter to rankle in the recollections of the families who (truly or not) might consider themselves aggrieved by the adjustment.

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These religious and political discontents appear to have led to the war between the two pretensions, which ended in the expulsion of the Lower Egyptian kings from Memphis and the whole of Egypt to the south of it.

We have said that the king who sustained this misfortune was ASSES, and that it took place close to the termination of his long, and hitherto peaceful, reign. It was, as in the preceding instance, a sudden and unexpected eruption. But the wild fanatics that followed the standard of AMOSIS, marked their progress down the valley of the Nile by acts of sacrilegious violence and spoliation, from which the armies of SAITES had altogether abstained. They everywhere broke open and plundered the tombs of the followers of the rival pretension, and completely mutilated and defaced their walls. That they committed the same excesses on the monuments and public buildings of Memphis when it fell into their hands, the history of that city in after times, and the present state of its ruins, leave no room to doubt. The army of AMOSIS was principally composed of a mob of fierce, mad, drunken enthusiasts, who masked their lust for plunder and love of violence and disorder with their fanaticism; like every other crusade.

AMOSIS.

AMOSIS was the son of the marriage of the rightful heir of the Mencherian line with a princess of the house of the viceroy of MELANERES. So that in his

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person this last succession was finally merged in that of the Mencherian Pharaohs. We discover this fact in the circumstance, that his queen has the yellow complexion of the Egyptian ladies; whereas his son and co-regent was espoused to a Phutite princess, with the complexion of a negress.*

From the analogy of former similar cases, we infer that AMOSIS made the capture of Memphis the first event in his reign. A long interval of anarchy, spoliation, and bloodshed, must have followed; for it was not until his 22nd year that he began to rebuild the temples of Memphis.

The names assumed by AMOSIS are, as usual, instructive as to the mystic history of his reign. His name in Lower Egypt, it will be seen, is that of MENTHESUPHIS, the founder of Thebes; with the change of the last group which consists of two lions' heads, and means "watchful in both Egypts." This group became afterwards distinctive of the founder of a dynasty. His name in Upper Egypt, AMOSIS, meant "son of the moon," and commemorated the mythic insult wherewith he triumphed over his rival, the king of Memphis. We have seen, that the god Amun was worshipped at Peramoun, his primitive temple, at Coptos, and at Luxor, in Eastern Thebes. The introduction of the obscene or Coptic Amun, into Eastern Thebes, we elsewhere assume to have been the act of AMENEMES. The Amun first introduced by him into Thebes at Karnak, was free from the loathsome characteristic of

* Lepsius, Abt. iii. bl. 1.

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the other idol.* This first Amun, AMOSIS, after the example of his predecessors, split asunder. To the female figure carved from the left half, he gave the name of *Mant*, "the mother;" he himself was, of course, the son that issued from this divine marriage. But he clothed himself in the vesture of Phtha, and assumed the comely countenance and sallow complexion of the god of Memphis. Still more clearly to indicate the secondary rank to which by this act Phtha was degraded, he associated this form of him with the moon, the most fickle and evanescent of all the heavenly bodies, and, therefore, in the apprehension of ancient Egypt, the feeblest of them. He completed the insult by the name which he gave to this filial divinity. He named him *shons*, that is, "the weak one;"† this name was written Χωνσις, *Chonsis*, in the Greek inscriptions which have been found in Egypt.

This studied and premeditated insult to the god of Memphis, having once been sanctioned by solemn acts of religion, could, of course, never again be undone. The tutelary of Memphis was thenceforward no longer one of the great gods of Egypt, but fell into the rank of an inferior and secondary being. This slight, however, to the Memphites, was deeply felt and sternly resented. Another century of broil and bloodshed, and another capture and recapture of Memphis, were

* Obelisc of Begig. See vol. i. p. 384.

† Coptic, ϣⲱⲛϩ, "weak." The is a common substitute for the pronoun , and when thus affixed has an adjectival power.

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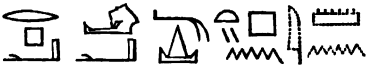
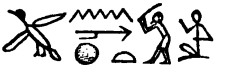
its fearful consequences to the kingdom of Egypt. In singularly exact uniformity with that we have already ascertained on former similar occasions, the inglorious Pharaohs who reigned at Thebes (and so far as appears at Thebes only) after the disasters of the Exodus, attempted to appease this divinity, by dedicating to him the last temple that ever was built in Egypt by a native Pharaoh. The remains of this temple to Chonsis at Eastern Thebes give deplorable testimony to the deep decline of the arts in the evil times wherein it was constructed. It was to the anger of this divinity that its constructors ascribed the misfortunes, before which Egypt grovelled in the dust.

This modification of Amun was effected by AMOSIS in the temple of Eastern Thebes, which was afterwards expanded by his successors into the gorgeous palace of Karnak.

The coeval remains of the reign of AMOSIS are few and insignificant. There is one monument which we can with certainty assign to his age. It is a very small tomb in the catacomb of Gournou in Western Thebes. The excavator of it was an arch-physician, the prefect of the granaries of Amun.  His name was  *pa-nasht-hi; i.e.*, "the timber-feller." An inscription in this small tomb, very nearly defaced, has preserved, nevertheless, the name of AMOSIS, followed by the epithet, "living," whence we assuredly know that he (Panasht-hi) was the cotemporary of AMOSIS: a fact which might also have been inferred from the

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striking similarity between the style of art in this tomb and those of Eilethya. We infer from this circumstance that AMOSIS was the zealous votary of Amun at Thebes, as well as at Memphis. The mutilation which the name of Amun has undergone in this inscription belongs to the days of his successors.

Another monument, also, of the age of AMOSIS, is happily historical. It is the tomb at Eilethya, of one of the *Heteri*, or schoolfellows of AMOSIS, who, according to the custom that now began to prevail, was named after him, Amosis, without the ring, instead of taking a name compounded of that of his royal master, as in the olden times.* A discourse or poem of thirty columns of hieroglyphics, recounts the exploits of this prince in Egypt, during the reigns of AMOSIS and his two next successors. He was "admiral of the Nile," besides a high military rank. He was descended from one of the first colonists of Eilethya, under Pharaoh ACHTHOES.† From this forefather, the family had passed down eleven descents to AMOSIS. The names of all the intermediate heads of it, and of their wives, are recorded in the tomb. This lineage corresponds well with our chronology. If we assume the founding of Eilethya to have been an early event in the reign of ACHTHOES, and the pacification to which Abram was a party, to be a late one (which is so highly probable as to be pretty certain), the former may have taken place thirty years before the visit of the patriarch, that is, 245 years before the immigration of Israel.

* No. 5, El Kab. † Vol. i. p. 370.

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The seventy years we find to have been the proximate duration of the interval between this event and the recapture of Memphis by AMOSIS,* being added to it, give us 315 years; *i.e.*, rather less than twenty-nine years for a descent, which is just about the average length of these descents in ancient Egypt, vaguely computed by Herodotus at three to the century.† We give this remarkable approximation, as no light or despicable proof of the correctness of our reading, both of the history of Egypt and its chronology.

Other postulates of our preceding history, which have rather flowed from analogies and probabilities than from either formal records or strict deductions, are likewise made into certainties by the names in this pedigree of the prince Amosis at Eilethya. Two of these will require notice. We have seen that many of the immediate ancestors of Pharaoh AMOSIS took names in Upper Egypt, compounded of that of Sebek the god of Crocodilopolis. The great-grandfather of the prince Amosis was likewise in the fashion. He was named , *sbk-ms*; "Sekmosis;" *i.e.*, "born of Sebek." The misfortunes of the reigning family were doubtless ascribed in part to the neglect of this deity, whom they further endeavoured to appease by making him tutelary in Ombos, and other cities near Eilethya, which they founded.

It has, moreover, just been explained, that a fusion must have taken place between the black and white inhabitants of Nubia and Ethiopia, in the time that immediately followed the bursting of the lake. The

* Above, p. 120. † Vol. i. p. 236.

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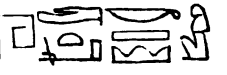
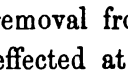
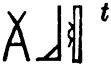
direct proof of this union is likewise to be found in the pedigree before us. Several of the female ancestry of the prince Amosis were Cushite or Phutite women, as their names, compounded of districts in the possession of these tribes, clearly imply. The name of his grandmother was  *htt-kush; i.e.*, "sought out (Copt. ϧⲧϧⲧ) in Cush," *i.e.*, Ethiopia.

These two instances may serve to show that monumental indications however faint, if carefully observed, are by no means without their value as direct history.

The first acts recorded in the very boastful strain before us, are those of the piety of the prince Amosis towards the mummies of his ancestors. This is universal in all similar tomb-inscriptions throughout Egypt. Amongst these he especially dwells upon the removal of the whole of them from Abydos to the splendid depositum he had prepared for them in the rock of El Kab or Eilethya. The founder of the family of Amosis was named  , *ahi-snau*, "two souls." His removal from Abydos to his tomb was also effected at the same time by Amosis. It was on one of the great Apiac festivals that it took place. The mummy and its offerings were covered with one of the wooden sarcophagi we have just described. This honour was reserved for the founder of the family, as a distinction among the mummies of his descendants which accompanied him. The name of this chest or lid we find to have been  *t b** (Copt. ⲧⲁⲓⲃ), "a chest."†

* Alphabet, No. 138. † El Kab. Tomb 5, cc. 1—4.

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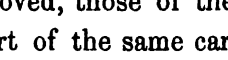
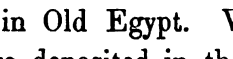
Again, these particulars confirm our previous assumptions. The mummy of Ahisnau remained at Abydos for upwards of three centuries; and when it was at length removed, those of the whole of his descendants made part of the same cargo. Such was the universal custom in Old Egypt. We have seen that the mummies were deposited in the tomb of Amunei at Beni-hassan, in freights of four and six hundred at once. It was equally so in the adjacent vault of Nahrai. Not a mummy was buried there before the days of *Sukenes*,  , the remote descendant of all who  had previously inscribed their names there, and (so far as appears) the last of the family.*

It is likewise gratifying to point to the proof of the truth of our conjecture† as to the origin and use of the wooden sarcophagi.

The prince Amosis was, as we have seen, the schoolfellow of his royal namesake. His first act, on his accession to his father's estate, which took place immediately on his completion of the prescribed course of education, was the excavation of the tomb, and the removal thither of the mummies of his ancestry. (cc. 5, 6).

The next exploit recorded was the military expedition against Lower Egypt, whereby the older branch of the family of MENES was once more expelled from Memphis. The prince Amosis was certainly a youth when he accompanied his royal namesake to this war. As the *Heteri*, or schoolfellows of the king, were all

* Ins. Nahrai, cc. 161—222. † Above, p. 144.

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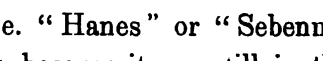
born in the same year with him, the truth of our conjecture that the capture of Memphis was the exploit whence AMOSIS dated the commencement of his reign, is hereby made apparent.

The first action of the war in which the prince Amosis was personally present, was the capture of Tanis. This event took place in the 3rd year of the king and of the war (c. 14). It would seem to have been a simultaneous attack by land and water, and that the command of the fleet which sailed down from Memphis to the Tanitic branch was given to this prince. Tanis was by this exploit added to the crown or regency of Memphis (c. 8); another proof that this latter city had been taken in the first year. The prince boasts loudly of this exploit. Nevertheless, when we discover that his list of killed and wounded amounted to one man (c. 9), and of his captives to one man and three women (c. 13), we are compelled to admit that the enemy did not sustain an irrecoverable amount of disaster at the hands of our hero.

The rendezvous for the prisoners after the capture of Tanis, was a city named (c. 14). This, we believe to mean  "the garden-quarter of *Hnu*," i.e. "Hanes" or "Sebennytus."* It was written thus, because it was still in the hands of the Lower Egyptians, some part of whom had made peace with AMOSIS after the capture of Memphis. It was the constant practice, in the inscriptions that relate to these wars, to write the names of cities in Egypt, in the hands of the rival faction, with characters

* Vol. i. p. 356.

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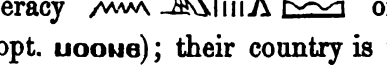
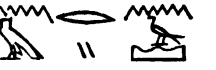
altogether different from the ordinary transcription, so as to give them the appearance of being the names of foreign cities. This practice increases greatly the difficulty of interpreting them. Tanis and Memphis, which had fallen into his hands, are written as usual. We shall find from the account of this capture of Memphis, preserved in the histories of Manetho, that such a pacification actually took place at an early period of the war.

The Egyptian prisoners taken in this affair, and, as it would seem, the dead bodies of the slain also, were admitted to ransom—the value of which was paid in gold.

It is well worthy of note, that even at this early period the Lower Egyptians are branded with the opprobrious epithet (c. 15), "the evil confederacy  of *mnu*, cattle feeders" (Copt. ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ); their country is named "Arvad;" while all countries over the north-eastern boundary of Egypt are comprehended in the common epithet of  "Naharain," *i.e.* Mesopotamia, the country whence the first colonists had come to Egypt. These identifications we shall find of extreme importance to the intelligence of the historical inscriptions of the succeeding epochs.

We must now turn once more to the history of Manetho in Josephus. It relates that there was an insurrection of the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt against *those kings in Lower Egypt that were called the Shepherds*;* and upon that arose a great

* τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων (Cont. Apion. i. 14).

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and long war. It is said that the Shepherds were defeated by a king whose name was AMOSIS, and dispossessed of all Egypt, and shut up in a district having a circumference of 10,000 arouræ, that is, of about 300 miles. This admeasurement is that of the district called the Delta, in round numbers.

There cannot be a doubt that this is the district actually referred to in the passage, and that it was thus vaguely designated by Manetho, in order to spare himself the mortification of explaining to the Greeks, that so important a portion of Egypt remained for a long period after the capture of Memphis by AMOSIS in the hands of the Lower Egyptians or Shepherds. Still further to mystify and mislead his readers from the facts of the case, he proceeds to tell them that the name of this district was Avaris. He had before explained that this Avaris was a city of the Sethroite nome, which district formed the eastern bank of the Bubastite branch of the Nile; and also that SAITES had constructed there a vast fortified camp, with the army quartered in which he kept the whole of Egypt in check. He likewise tells us afterwards, that when Moses revolted against the king of Egypt, he concentrated the rebel Egyptians and their Canaanite allies at Avaris. It is clear from hence that some motive, very far removed from the desire to write a true history, must have prompted this strange perplexity. The identification of Avaris will engage us hereafter. It applies in the present instance to the whole Delta. It was an ancient (probably in his time forgotten) name of this district, used for the purpose of concealing a

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mortifying fact from his Greek readers. Manetho proceeds to tell us that the Shepherds fortified this vast district with a great and strong wall, and that they kept there their cattle and the whole of the spoil that they had taken from the Egyptians. This is simply absurd, unless we read it as another way of saying that the Lower Egyptians retained possession of a considerable district after their expulsion from the city of Memphis by AMOSIS. It certainly favours such a view of the state of things in Egypt at this epoch, to find that the prince Amosis at Eilethya mentions the mere surprise of Tanis and the carrying off of an inconsiderable spoil, as the most notable event in the third year of the war; and that the city of Sebennytus was at this time in the hands of another king in alliance with AMOSIS. The mention of Memphis and Tanis only in the inscription, to the omission of the other cities of the Delta, is equally in favour of the view we are advocating. Had any other city fallen into the hands of AMOSIS, assuredly it would not have been omitted from this boastful composition. This will abundantly appear when other similar inscriptions are before us. We shall also find in them that both Memphis and Tanis were afterwards recaptured by the Lower Egyptians.

We infer from all these circumstances, that the Lower Egyptian or Aphophean Pharaohs still retained their supremacy over the Delta, notwithstanding the misfortune they sustained by the loss of Memphis in the reign of ASSES. This event would consequently exercise no restraining influence upon the increase in

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numbers and prosperity of the children of Israel who were sojourning in that district. Such an arrangement is certainly required by the inspired narrative of their history; and this requirement, we need scarcely observe, strongly confirms our present reading of the monuments and the Greek tradition.

On referring to the lists of Manetho, we find mingled amid the strange confusion of co-regent dynasties, between the 13th and 18th, a succession of kings who reigned at the city of Xois, in the centre of the Delta (*see Map*). The Arabic name of this city, *Sakha*, corresponds exactly with its appellative in the Egyptian language; Coptic, ϲϧωϯ, hieroglyphic *schis.** It will hereafter be needful to point out that this is the city mentioned in the inspired history of Israel under the name of *Succoth*.† As its name in all these transcriptions is Hebrew, and signifies "tents," there can be no doubt that it was one of the cities which Joseph built, and removed thither the inhabitants of the surrounding districts during the latter years of the famine. The position of this city, so near the centre of their now greatly circumscribed dominions, doubtless pointed it out as the most convenient capital for the obscure descendants of ASSES, who reigned in the Delta only. These Xoite kings are the 14th dynasty of the lists. There are said to have been either 16 or 76 of them, and they reigned either for 484 or 184 years.

* *S* for *th*, which is according to the modern pronunciation of Polish Jews of the Hebrew letter *thau*.

† Ex. xii. 37.

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The reign of AMOSIS is said, in all the copies of the lists, to have lasted for twenty-five years. It seems from the monuments, that his war with ASSES terminated in the third year of it, when the boundaries of the two kingdoms were settled by treaty, and all the prisoners were admitted to ransom. The rest of the reign of AMOSIS was exceedingly turbulent and inglorious. It is highly probable that the spirit of fanaticism he had raised was too strong for the force under his controul to allay, when his purpose had been answered by it; and that many years of his reign were consumed in curbing the licentiousness and chastising the excesses of the army of rabid zealots whom he had led to Memphis. This is so common a result of wars of religion in the history of mankind in general, that we can find no reason so probable as this why the reign of AMOSIS is monumentally obscure.

In his twenty-second year, AMOSIS began the reconstruction of the temple of Phtha at Memphis, and also laid the foundation of a temple to Amun of Thebes, his mythic father, in the same city. We have already mentioned that this fact is twice recorded on the rock of Tourrah, which is immediately over against Memphis on the eastern bank of the river. The queen and eldest daughter of AMOSIS both shared in the honour and devotion of this work of piety. The name of the former is also written on the alabaster rocks of El Bosrah, in the eastern desert. It is thus inscribed in hieroglyphics, "the divine queen, *ah-ms-atri.*" Her daughter was named after her. These quarry-marks, with the tombs of Gournou and of the prince

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Amosis at Eilethya, make up the whole of the known coeval remains of the expeller of ASSES from Memphis, and founder of the eighteenth dynasty.

The state of Egypt during the reign of AMOSIS, and the extent of his sovereignty, are questions which are hard to answer. We have seen that there were troubles on the northern frontier, from the Amonian fanatics, throughout the greater part of it. We shall find that a considerable district in Middle Egypt never acknowledged his authority at all, but that the Shepherds or Lower Egyptian Pharaohs, ruling there only, were in alliance with him and his successors. In Nubia and Ethiopia also a revolt against his authority took place, and a new Phutite pretension competed with him and his successors for the sovereignty of all Egypt. It would, therefore, seem that the dominions of AMOSIS were in a condition very similar to those of the kings of the eleventh dynasty.* His territory in Upper Egypt does not seem to have extended further north than Abydos, or southward beyond Eilethya. In Lower Egypt the sovereignty of AMOSIS appears to have been limited to Memphis and its nome.

It is a strange, and at first sight puzzling, feature of the reign of AMOSIS, that, notwithstanding its turbulence, the arts of design made considerable progress in the course of it. This fact very clearly appears on the comparison of the works of art of his next successor with those of the times that went before him. We have seen that the Delta was the only district of

* Vol. i. p. 367.

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Egypt in which there was peace during his reign. It must have been here that the artists acquired the skill they have exhibited in the works of the epoch upon which we are about to enter. We may even trace in this comparison a perceptible amount of foreign influence in the bolder and more flowing outline both of the contour and the draperies of their human figures. This change we do not hesitate to ascribe to the more enlarged intercourse with foreign artists from Canaan and Mesopotamia, whose immigration into Egypt was abundantly encouraged by the liberal policy of the successors of ASSES in the Delta.

Thus have we found that a peaceable, well-ordered government in Goshen, at this epoch, is just as imperatively required by the monuments of Egypt as by the history of Israel.

We now proceed with the successors of AMOSIS on the thrones of Thebes and Memphis. The very difficult solution of the question regarding the Xoite Pharaohs must engage us afterwards.

CHEBRON—AMENOPHIS.

The name of the Pharaoh who sat on the throne of Egypt after the death of AMOSIS, is involved in no sort of doubt, if the monuments are to be regarded. The testimony of the tablet of Abydos, as to his successor, is corroborated by that of many other coeval remains: so that it seems to be a clear historical fact, that on the death of AMOSIS, a king reigned in Egypt

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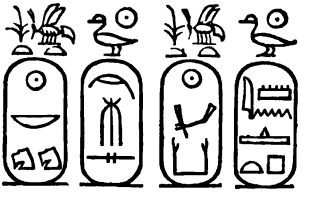
whose hieroglyphic name is written thus: The lists of Manetho, however, present us with a difficulty on this point which will require to be considered. The four transcriptions of them agree in making the two successors of AMOSIS to have been:

CHEBROS or CHEBRON,	.....	reigning	13 years
AMENOPHIS or AMOPHIS	.....	„	21 „

The interpretation of the Upper Egyptian ring of the hieroglyphic successor of AMOSIS, gives us *amn-hotp*,* i.e. "united with, one with, Amun." This name identifies itself with the AMENOPHIS of the lists, who appears there as the second successor of AMOSIS. Yet can no fact be better established by monumental evidence, than that of the successor of AMOSIS. We believe the origin of the mistake will appear, if we place together the names of both kings written in full—



The *prenomen* or name in Lower Egypt, of AMENOPHIS, reads *chrp-k-ra*, i.e. "he who consecrates his person to the sun." CHEBROS or CHEBRON has been the hellenized version of this name, wherewith the Greek transcribers of the lists got over the (to their ears) intolerable cacophany of this cluster of consonants.

* See Alphabet, No. 19.

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Such appears to be an obvious mode of reconciling the monuments with the lists. The same king, under two names, has been inserted in the latter, either by mistake, or for the well-known purpose of lengthening them.

The thirteen years of CHEBRON may represent the time during which AMENOPHIS was co-regent with AMOSIS. The actual lapse of time from the accession of AMOSIS to the death of AMENOPHIS, would then be represented by the forty-six years of their joint reign. We adopt this arrangement as the most probable one under the circumstances.

There are but few cotemporary monuments of AMENOPHIS I. This, as in the case of his predecessor, might have been anticipated from the brief history of his times which we have already quoted from Manetho. There is, however, another circumstance regarding him, which rests on monumental evidence, and which is highly instructive as to his history. Perhaps no monarch that ever reigned in Egypt, certainly no one of the New Kingdom, is so frequently represented invested with the attributes of a god, and receiving acts of worship and adoration. We assuredly gather from hence, that AMENOPHIS was highly successful in war.

There are several manuscripts on papyrus in the hieratic character, in various collections in Europe, wherein the names both of AMENOPHIS and his predecessor frequently occur. Should the mode of interpreting these ever be recovered, many important historical facts regarding these wars will be brought to light, for, no doubt, they are either histories of the

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wars of these Pharaohs, or epic poems founded upon events occurring in them.

In the early part of the reign of AMENOPHIS, *Amosis-nfr-atri*, the queen of his predecessor, was co-regent with him. She was, doubtless, his mother, and AMENOPHIS was the son as well as the successor of AMOSIS. It would appear, from a tomb at Thebes, the reliefs of which have long been known through the designs of Mr. Burton,* that queen Nofre-atri was descended in the female line from ACHTHOES, the founder of the 12th dynasty, while AMOSIS placed at the head of his ancestry, MENTHESUPHIS, the founder of Thebes.

Another tablet, brought from Thebes and now in the Louvre at Paris, commemorates an act of worship to AMENOPHIS and his mother, paid to them along with four of their descendants by a queen of a later epoch, who was also named Nofre-atri.

The name of AMENOPHIS is written on the side-posts of a gate or door in one of the walls of the construction that afterwards became the palace of Karnak. So far as appears from its existing remains he was its founder, for his name is the earliest that has been read there. Bricks of Nile-mud, stamped with the name of AMENOPHIS, have also been found at Western Thebes. It is clear, from these circumstances, that he must have had prisoners of war, by whose forced labours he performed these works. Accordingly, we find in the tomb of the prince Amosis at Eilethya, that this king also, like his father, was compelled to head a warlike expedition against the Cushites in Nubia, for the purpose of

* Excerpta Hieroglyphica.

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reducing them to obedience, and collecting their tributes. It is further stated there, that on the occasion he made a considerable booty, both of prisoners and cattle.

A pair of sandals, in the Museum at Berlin, have upon the strap the name of CHEBRON AMENOPHIS, and on the sole the painting of an Asiatic prisoner, bound. We believe that one or two other similar small remains likewise commemorate the fact, that AMENOPHIS had wars with the Lower Egyptians, who were always represented as Asiatics, as well as with the Ethiopians.

A fine picture in stucco of AMENOPHIS and his mother was cut from the wall of a tomb at Gournou, the burial-place of Thebes, by the Prussian Expedition. It is now in the Berlin Museum. He has himself a noble countenance, but his complexion has the sickly, pallid tint which denotes a mulatto. His mother was an Ethiop in complexion and descent. She had also the straight though somewhat prominent nose, and thin lips, of the modern Somalis, Amharic Abyssinians, and other direct descendants from Cush, in North-east Africa. The faces in this highly interesting picture are visibly portraits (*Frontispiece*).

A statue of this monarch, in the hard limestone of Eastern Thebes, forms a part of the magnificent collection of Turin; but he is there represented as a god after his decease, and the image has been consecrated as an object of worship.

In the same collection is a mummy-case, the execution of which shows it to have been of the Ptolemaic or Roman epoch. The personage whose remains were deposited in it was priest to AMENOPHIS I. and his

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family. There can scarcely be a doubt that this coffin was originally found in the tomb copied by Mr. Burton, and that, being descended from the same family, the owner of it had inherited the same office. From this sarcophagus, we learn that in the course of the reign of AMENOPHIS, his queen *ah-htp*, ("united to the moon") was associated with him in the regency. This same name is also inscribed in the tomb among the lineage of Nofre-atri, his mother; so that, in all probability, she was likewise of the blood-royal.

AMENOPHIS and his queen Ahepthis are also worshipped in a tomb in the burial-place of Thebes, closely adjacent to the one already mentioned, but of a much later epoch. It was excavated in the times of the 20th dynasty.

Thus have we found that the name of AMENOPHIS will ever be illustrious in the monumental history of Egypt. He is the first Pharaoh whose name appears cotemporarily on the noble constructions that once adorned Thebes. The palaces and temples of this city of wonders, now in extreme dilapidation and ready to perish from the earth, still excite an intense thrill of admiration in him who first visits them. Let him have wandered over the world where he will—let the ruins of Rome, of Greece, of Mesopotamia, be never so familiar to him, these experiences only heighten his sense of astonishment, and deepen his conviction that, for sublime grandeur of design and symmetrical beauty of arrangement, none of them will bear comparison with the ruins of Thebes.

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MESPHRES.

The successor of CHEBRON AMENOPHIS we know from the monuments to have been also his son. His name, which is of frequent occurrence, is written . Nothing can be more certain than the fact, that this was the name borne by the successor and son of AMENOPHIS. Nevertheless, the lists once more fail us altogether. We give from them the names of the successors of AMENOPHIS.

AFRICANUS.	Years.
AMENSIS	22
MISAPHRIS	13
MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS ...	26
TOUTHMOSIS	9

JOSEPHUS.	Yrs.	Mths.
AMESSIS (sister of AMENOPHIS)	21	9
MEPHRES	12	9
MEPHRAMOUTHOSIS	25	10
THMOUSIS	9	8

EUSEBIUS, by Syncellus.	Years.
MIPHRES	12
MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS ...	26
TOUTHMOSIS	9

EUSEBIUS, Armenian Version.	Yrs.	Mths.
MEMPHRES	12	0
MISPHARMUTHOSIS	26	0
TUTHMOTHIS ...	9	0

Before endeavouring to deal with the utter confusion which reigns over this part of the 18th dynasty, when the lists are compared either with the monuments or with themselves, it may be of service to consider if the inquiries we have already made concerning places of similar difficulty do not throw some light upon the mode in which the names of the Pharaohs of this epoch were written in the Greek lists. The two names we have found, suggest the probability that either of

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the two royal rings composing the name of Pharaoh, or both of them together, were made use of in these transcriptions. MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS seems to be a corruption of the two names of AMOSIS; while, on the other hand, the two rings of CHEBRON AMENOPHIS figure in the lists as two Pharaohs. The names of co-regents, as well as of Pharaohs actually reigning, seem also to be enumerated in them.

The name of the queen AMENSES is written in hieroglyphics, , *amnst.* Her history and that of her husbands will engage us hereafter.

The first ring in the name of the monumental successor of AMENOPHIS reads *aa-chru-ka-ra*, i.e., "great creator who is of the substance of the sun." None of the names we have quoted bear the slightest resemblance to it. We are compelled, therefore, to assume that it has been rejected from the Greek version. In the second ring of the same name are two epithets or titles. The first of them is *thoth-mes*, i.e., "begotten of Thoth;" in which, to our surprise, we detect the THOTHMOSIS of the lists, who was, according to them, the third or fourth successor of AMENOPHIS. Without at once alighting upon the conclusion, that the lists are here a mere jumble, we proceed to the remaining epithet of the second ring. It reads *m-sha-she-phra*, i.e., "he who is crowned [fêted or exalted] like the sun." This title certainly may have been the MESPHRES of the lists.

The name THOTHMOSIS, as being that of several of

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his successors, may have been omitted from the present Greek name, for this reason.*

MESPHRES THOTHMOSIS has left some striking monuments of a brief but very glorious reign.

In its second year, we find him at war with the Phutites and Cushites. On the 15th of the second month (Phaophi), he celebrates on a rock at Ombos a victory with many captives over Phut and Cush. These captives were employed in quarrying materials for the construction of temples to Athom, Hathor, and the other gods of Lower Egypt. He, also, on four other occasions, quarried the same rock, and employed the stone in the construction of the temples at Thebes. On every one of them he boasts of his victories over Phut or Cush, thus making it clear that they were blacks, and not Lower Egyptians or Canaanites, whom he employed to build his temples.

It was doubtless during this war that a votive niche

* This name (THOTHMOSIS) is connected with another difficulty in the course of Manetho's narrative of the expeller of the Shepherds and his successors. After having named the hero of this exploit MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS, and his son or descendant who completed it THOTHMOSIS, in another part of his history in which he repeats the narrative, he assigns the honour of it to THOTHMOSIS only, making him the father of the new dynasty. Such is the common reading of this place (Contr. Apion. i. c. 15). There are, however, very considerable variations in the spelling of the name in the different manuscripts and versions of Josephus that still exist, and the collation of it with Josephus himself in the preceding chapter, with the lists, and with the monuments, seems to leave no doubt that the word *Tetmosis* or *Temosis* is corrupt, and that it was originally written AMOSIS. This emendation restores Josephus to harmony with the lists, with the monuments, and with himself.

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or recess was sculptured by MESPHRES at Ibrim, immediately to the north of Ipsambul, in the face of a cliff that rises perpendicularly from the western bank of the Nile. At the further extremity of this excavation are four figures in low relief, two of them representing the Pharaoh now before us; the other two, the mythic beings to whom this locality was consecrated. The mean execution of this monument shows that it was done hastily, by workmen of inferior skill. Most probably it was at the head of his army that MESPHRES THOTHMOSIS ordered the niche of Ibrim to be excavated in commemoration of some defeat of the Ethiopian enemies of Egypt in this neighbourhood.

The prince Amosis had likewise recorded in his tomb that he accompanied MESPHRES in a campaign against the southern enemies of Egypt, which was attended with success; a large and fruitful territory being hereby added to Egypt. There can be no doubt that this was the war in which so large a portion of the reign of MESPHRES was occupied.

The constructions begun at Thebes by MESPHRES show that he had at his command a very great amount of forced labour. He proceeded with the work at Karnak, which his father had begun. One of the Syenite obeliscs, now prostrate among its ruins, was quarried and completed by MESPHRES, but it had not been removed from Syene at the time of his death. It was brought down the river, and erected long afterwards, by one of his remote successors of the twentieth dynasty.

The propylon before which this obelisc was intended

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to stand was in the course of construction at the same time. It is the third on the southern face of the temple. Like the obelisc, also, it was left unfinished, and the reliefs and inscriptions were proceeded with by his successor, and completed long afterwards by SETHOS I., of the nineteenth dynasty. On both these monuments, MESPHRES records his triumphs over the Phutites and Cushites in Nubia and Ethiopia.

In Western Thebes, he began the two temples whose ruins are known by the modern names of El Asasif and Medinet Abou. Like the palace of Karnak, they were all dedicated to the various modifications of the idol Amun. They resemble all the other remains of this monarch in commemorating victories over the southern enemies of Egypt only, and in being of no great extent, though vast and beautiful in design.

The historical inferences from these monumental facts are very palpable. The reign of MESPHRES was but of short duration, and occupied altogether with the reduction to obedience of Nubia and Ethiopia. With his northern frontier he appears to have been at peace. His monuments are remarkable for expressions of devotion to Athom, to Buto, and to others of the old idols of the Delta, as well as to Amun, the god of his family. It was only in a time of full peace and most amicable understanding, that such civilities were bestowed upon the gods of foreign countries, for such was the light in which the Xoite kingdom was regarded at Thebes in the days of MESPHRES.

The reign of MESPHRES is recorded in all the copies of the lists to have lasted for twelve years only. We

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have seen how exactly this agrees with the indications of the monuments that it was but a brief one. He was, in every sense of the word, a great king. In the inscription at Ombos, he is said to have conquered both Nubia and Ethiopia. The prisoners he took in battle were employed in the construction of a vast system of mounds, whereby the waters of the Nile were restrained from diffusing themselves over what had once been, doubtless, the area of the Lake of Ethiopia, where they became pestilential and barren swamps. A far greater volume of the waters of the overflow was by these means poured upon Egypt Proper, to the great increase of its fertility. This fact is expressly recorded in the inscription on the rock of Tombos.* The waste of a considerable portion of the annual overflow would be an all but certain consequence of the bursting of the Lake of Ethiopia. These great kings of the olden time did not fear to encounter difficulties of such colossal dimensions. MESPHRES reconquered Egypt and her dependencies to their utmost southern limits, and then exacted from the forced labours of the subdued rebel tribes, the erection of the huge mounds, whereby their own land was rescued from pestilence, and Egypt from barrenness.

That these vast works were but planned by MESPHRES, and that they were completed by his successors, we have very probable evidence in the brevity of his reign. There is scarcely a king of Egypt who received after his death more magnificent tokens of esteem and veneration than MESPHRES. Most

* Lepsius iii. 5.

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of the reliefs, both at El Asasif and Medinet Abou, were apparently executed at his death. On the obelisc at Karnak, his name is inscribed with the following variation: The additional titles in these rings were probably added after his death by his son, for this obelisc seems to have borne the dedication of that portion of the palace wherein the second descendant of MESPHRES worships the entire line of his ancestry.

There is a magnificent colossal statue of MESPHRES in the Museum at Turin. It is a black jasper veined with white, beautifully sculptured and highly polished. It also was executed after his death, and commemorates him as a god.

We have found in the lists, that the reign of this illustrious monarch lasted for twelve years only. The high honours paid to his memory seem to suggest the probability, that he may have fallen on the field of battle.

The queen of MESPHRES we find, in the temple of El Asasif, to have been named Amosis. She was his sister also. These incestuous marriages prevailed in Egypt at all epochs of its history.

ACHENCHERES.

The monumental history of Egypt, after the death of MESPHRES THOTHMOSIS, is in confusion as to the order of succession, indicating the existence of the disputes concerning it, which are so very likely to follow upon the untimely removal of the head of a house; herein strengthening our surmise that he fell in battle. His

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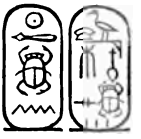
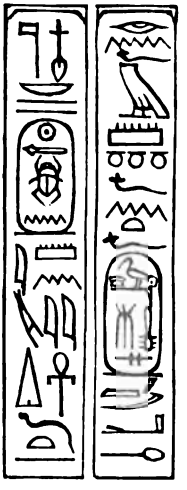
immediate successor on the throne of Egypt was his son, whose name stands thus:



(*aa-chru-n-ra*) (*tet-mes mshe-nefr-chru*).

This succession is that of the tablet of Abydos (rings 42, 43). It is stated with the same formality on the statue of MESPHRES, in the Turin collection, in the accompanying inscription, which is engraven on the front legs of the throne. It reads, "the good god, the lord of the two Egypts, *aa-chru-n-ra*, the beloved of Amun, ever-living, hath dedicated this his work to his father, THOTHMOSIS MESPHRES, whose words are justified." There are other monumental evidences of this succession; so that it is satisfactorily established. The lists present us in this place with a considerable difficulty. The successors of MESPHRES in them are MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS and THOTHMOSIS,* names which the history has already appropriated to the two Pharaohs by whom the Shepherds were expelled. But the first of them being already identified with AMOSIS, the circumstance of its repetition here in the lists is in itself suggestive of some error. The truth of this suggestion is strongly confirmed by the circumstances that the history† bears upon the face of it, that these two



* Above, p. 177. † Joseph. Contra. Apion, i. 14.

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kings were the immediate successors of each other, and that the THOTHMOSIS of the monuments was a prosperous monarch, and evidently the one entitled by Manetho, the expeller of the Shepherds. We infer, then, that the Alexandrian revisers of the lists in after times have inserted the name of MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS in this place, in order to restore the lists to harmony with the history as they read it; displacing the right name (which they inserted below) for the purpose of keeping correct the number of successions (six) between AMOSIS and THOTHMOSIS. This displaced name we find two successions afterwards.

There are great discrepancies in the several copies, in the mode of writing this name, in the number of years, the sex and the times, assigned to the personage that bore it. Africanus writes it ACHERRES, and makes him reign for 32 years. In the copies of Eusebius he is named ACHENCHERSES or ACHENCHERES, reigning 16 or 12 years, with the historical notice that in his days the Exodus took place. In the history, again, (where MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS has been inserted, as well as in the lists),* the same monarch is named AKENCHRES, and declared to be the daughter of the preceding king, reigning for 12 years only.

That this name ACHENCHERES is out of place, is rendered still more probable by the circumstance that it seems to have been a difficulty with the revisers of the lists in ancient times. One of them, for example, repeats it twice, inserting another name between the

* Contr. Apion, i. 15.

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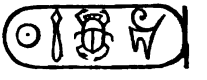
repetitions,* which has been an endeavour to harmonize the sum of the dates with the temple-records, which this displacement had disturbed.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that the name ACHENCHERES is a Greek version of *aa-chru-en-ra* or *chre*,† which is the title contained in the first ring of the royal name before us.

The event which seems to have been the inaugurating circumstance of the reign of ACHENCHERES is commemorated on the granite rocks of Syene. It took place on the eighth day of the month Phaophi, in the first year of his reign. It consisted of some small success against the Shepherds or Lower Egyptians in the Delta. The prisoners captured in the affair were brought by the young king to Syene, where they joined the gangs of black prisoners in quarrying blocks of granite for the decoration of the temples of Amun at Thebes.

We further learn from this important but very obscure inscription, that ACHENCHERES was crowned during the lifetime of his father, and that the single character which distinguishes his name from that of his father, was an honorific title conferred on him to commemorate the same exploit. The first ring of his name is written thus in the inscription.  It will be perceived that the last character in the ring is the red crown, or lower part of the *shent*, and the symbol of dominion over Lower Egypt. This change has also been made in the first ring of the name, which we have repeatedly explained to be the royal title in Lower Egypt. The assumption of this

* Appendix of Authorities, p. 135, Note 8. † See vol. i. p. 287.

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last character is very frequently referred to in the inscription before us, on the propylon of Karnak, with the building of which ACHENCHERES proceeded, both in conjunction with his father, and probably after his death also. His name in Lower Egypt is likewise written with the following variation: the last character means "lord of Lower Egypt."

On the later monuments of ACHENCHERES, the same name varies once more, and is written thus: the simple and primitive character denoting *n*, has been substituted for the crown of Lower Egypt, which has the same phonetic power * but which conveyed an insult to the Xoite dynasty, then reigning in the Delta. A peace was doubtless ratified between the two Pharaohs at a later period of the reign of ACHENCHERES, and this variation of his name in Lower Egypt has been one of the conditions of it. There is no other way of accounting for this change.

The well-known palace of Medinet Abou, situated close to the foot of the Lybian mountains that hem in the plain of Thebes on the western side, is remarkable for having been begun almost the earliest, and finished the latest, of all the great constructions of Thebes with the hundred gates. In speaking thus of Medinet Abou, we mean, of course, that its latest constructions of any magnitude or importance are those of the last of the Pharaohs, who made large additions to any of the great edifices of Thebes. The portion of

* Alphabet, Nos. 86, 87.

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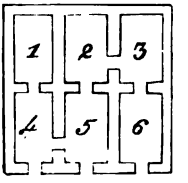
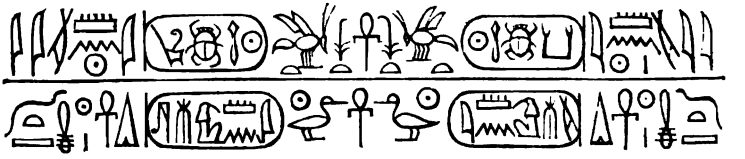
this superb palace nearest to the Lybian mountains, consists of six halls, opening *en suite*, according to the following ground-plot.



In these halls we read the legend of ACHENCHERES THOTHMOSIS. In that numbered 2, the interior cornice bears the following inscription.



This inscription, like many others similarly placed, commences in the middle and reads from thence in both directions, the central character being common to both. That to the right hand reads: 1st line, "the living king of Lower Egypt, MESPHRES, the beloved of Amun-ra." 2nd line, "the living son of the sun (*i.e.*, king of Upper Egypt), THOTHMOSIS, the beloved of Amun, everliving like the sun."

The inscription to the left is: 1st line, "the living king ACHENCHERES, the beloved of Amun-ra." 2nd line, "the living son of the sun, THOTHMOSIS, the dazzled of Amun,* everliving like the sun."

This inscription shows that MESPHRES and ACHENCHERES were both living and co-regent at the time

* Vol. i. p. 113.

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when this hall, which from its situation would appear to have been the commencement of the whole structure, was built.

The reliefs and legends which cover its interior walls, refer to acts of worship paid to Amun-ra, by MESPHRES and his son ACHENCHERES. It was to him, under this impersonation, that the temple of Medinet Abou was dedicated, in this small but elegant hall, by MESPHRES and ACHENCHERES, and in the vast additions made to it afterwards, which extend into the plain of Thebes for nearly a mile, by the long line of Pharaohs, kings and emperors, that successively bore rule in Egypt down to ANTONINUS PIUS, there is not a wall or pillar that does not bear a dedication to the same divinity.

It is for this reason that the rings of both Pharaohs are surcharged with titles expressive of the protection and adoration of Amun, and that both terminate with the epithet, "the beloved of Amun-ra." We believe there is not a legend throughout the entire ruin wherein this precedent has not been followed.

The halls 1, 4, and 5, seem to have been begun by the same Pharaohs conjointly, but they were not completed at the death of either, the names of two of their successors appearing in them. We have already noticed the extreme beauty of execution which characterizes these monuments. They are not *incavo*, like most of the works of the 12th dynasty, but rising in low relief from the surface, like the oldest tombs; and for delicacy of execution, they are among the finest of the works of art in Egypt.

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The death of ACHENCHERES seems to have taken place before the completion of this suite of halls. In that numbered 3 in our plan, there is but very little mention of him. His two successors, and their acts of devotion, cover the walls. His name only appears on the cornices and door-posts, which were invariably first inscribed. Most probably his death took place while it was in the course of execution. In hall 6, there is no name earlier than that of his third successor.

ACHENCHERES seems also to have made considerable advance in the building of the neighbouring temple of El Asasif. It would even appear that, though designed by his father, ACHENCHERES, he was really the founder of it. The name of MESPHRES is read only twice upon its walls, and in both instances it has been overwritten afterwards with that of his son. This beautiful little temple was dedicated to Amun, under all his names, forms, and attributes. Its construction proceeded throughout the entire reign of ACHENCHERES. This fact is shown by the circumstance, that his name is inscribed there with all the three variations we have just explained.

On the propylon of Karnak, also, ACHENCHERES completed the decorations which his father had begun. His works were visibly performed there after his father's death, as he in one or two places overwrites the name of MESPHRES with his own. The pictures or inscriptions are, in these instances, unfinished at his father's death. It is thus he records the fact that he completed them.

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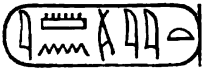
The remains of constructions in red granite bearing the name of ACHENCHERES THOTHMOSIS, and of the same exquisite style of execution, have been found at Esneh, to the south of Thebes in Upper Egypt, and at Semneh in Nubia. They are the remains of temples dedicated to the gods of these localities.

The wife of ACHENCHERES was named AMUN-MEIT.  She accompanies her husband on several monuments. The remains of the beautiful sarcophagus in which she was deposited are still to be seen in her tomb in the Biban Hadji Achmed, or Valley of the Queens. The walls of the tomb are all but entirely illegible. That which remains on them is, like the sarcophagus, in the exquisite style of art which distinguishes the epoch.

We are able to gather from the succession that filled the throne of Egypt after the death of ACHENCHERES, that he died childless. It is probable that he died young also. The lists seem to assign him a reign of 12 years.

QUEEN AMENSES AND HER HUSBANDS.

The succession following ACHENCHERES on the monuments is again discordant with the lists, and in this particular instance with itself also. Champollion was the first to discover this amid the ruins of Thebes, and he also was the first to grapple with and solve the difficulty.

In the small temple of El Asasif in Western Thebes, the legends and reliefs are in the same style of perfect

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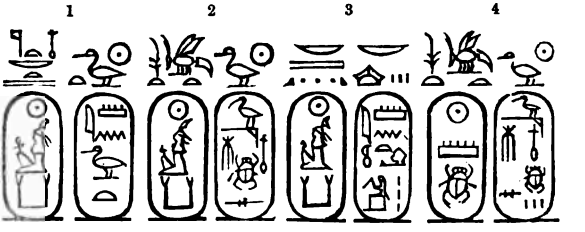
execution as those we have just noticed. In the course of them, the Pharaohs MESPHRES and ACHENCHERES are repeatedly addressed as divinities, with acts of worship. But the royal rings which contain the names of the actual founder or founders are *palimpsest*, or overwritten three times.

Champollion also noted that the most ancient of the inscriptions which covered this temple had been originally written in the feminine. It was a woman that addressed the gods. The replies of the gods were in like manner with feminine pronouns, showing that they were conferring blessings upon a female. A very close examination of the overwritten rings enabled him not only to decipher the several names upon them, but also to determine the order in which they were written. He obtained from hence the following succession.



On other parts of the same temple, the ring which commences the three first names is also overwritten with that of ACHENCHERES. On the tablet of Abydos, the royal name (No. 4) (which is everywhere the last inscribed), is the immediate successor of ACHENCHERES. The following is Champollion's solution of this difficulty; it appears to us to be satisfactory.

I. ACHENCHERES, the son of MESPHRES, succeeded

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his father on the throne of Egypt, and died without issue.

II. His sister, AMENSES (No. 1), succeeded him, as the daughter of MESPHRES. She had probably been co-regent with him throughout his reign. As the first-born of her father, she was associated on the throne of Egypt with him also. This fact appears on the stamps of unburnt bricks at Gournou.*

III. The first husband of AMENSES (No. 2) took her title for his first ring, and for his second that of her brother. He may have been the father of the monarch (No. 4) who appears as the immediate successor of ACHENCHERES in the tablet of Abydos.

IV. The second husband of AMENSES (No. 3) was named AMENENTHES. She ruled Egypt conjointly with him, and probably with her son also, for several years during the minority of the latter.

V. The guardianship of his mother and step-father seems, nevertheless, to have been extremely odious to the young king (No. 4); for, on all the monuments that remain of him, he has omitted no opportunity either of defacing their names, or of writing over them his own name, or that of his uncle ACHENCHERES, or of his grandfather MESPHRES. The example of this defacement was set him by his stepfather AMENENTHES, who has overwritten with his own name that of the first husband of AMENSES, in many places at El Asasif.

This solution appears to us in itself so obvious and

* Leps. iii. 26, 4.

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natural, and also to account for so many difficulties occurring on monuments in all parts of Egypt, that we do not understand the ground upon which it can be called in question. We have already seen that in the history of this period, resumed by Josephus, ACHENCHERES is said to have been a woman and the sister of her predecessor. We find from the monuments that ACHENCHERES was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his sister.*

The omission of the name of AMENSES from the tablet of Abydos is generally accounted for by the circumstance that she was a woman. We are disposed to believe that it was in deference to the antipathy of her son to the memory of his step-father, as we would hope, that the first ring of her name, which is equally that of the names of her two husbands, was left out of the royal genealogies.

Another and still more revolting reason for the erasure of the name of AMENSES, we shall hereafter have to notice.

AMENSES and her two husbands have gained for themselves a very high monumental fame on the remains of Ancient Egypt. The largest and most beautiful obelisc in the world, that which still remains upright among the ruins of Karnak, was the work of

* Bunsen and Lepsius have contrived another theory of this obscure succession, based upon the fact that AMENSES, ACHENCHERES, and THOTHMOSIS, were all the children of MESPHRES. It assumes them to have reigned in the order of their seniority. It is certainly true that they had all one father; but, nevertheless, it is to be feared that ACHENCHERES and THOTHMOSIS were not brothers in any right use of the term.

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AMENENTHES. It is upwards of ninety feet high. The base is eight feet square. It is one block of red granite, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphics of matchless beauty.

The inscription on the plinth of this magnificent work of art informs us that it was begun in the fifteenth year of AMENENTHES, on the first day of Mechir, the sixth month; and that it was completed in his seventeenth year, on the seventh day of Mesore, the twelfth month. Its execution, therefore, occupied two years, six months, and seven days. The number of labourers and skilled artists required for the completion of such a work in a period so comparatively limited, must have been enormous.

The portions of the marvellous palace-temple of Karnak in Eastern Thebes, which were really the works of AMENSES and her husbands, are now not easily to be distinguished, so greatly have they suffered from dilapidation. There can, however, be no doubt, that they were the first founders of it, and that they dedicated it to the modification of Amun, worshipped in Eastern Thebes, *Amun-ra sonther*.

Karnak, like Medinet Abou, and, we believe, all the other known temples of Egypt, was begun at the side nearest the mountain and furthest from the river. The most ancient parts of all of them are found in that position.

In Western Thebes, AMENSES and her husbands carried forward the works which her brother and nephew had begun and left unfinished at Medinet Abou, and

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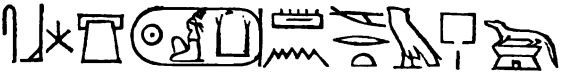
in the small temple of El Asasif in its immediate neighbourhood. This temple was commenced with a speos or artificial cave hewn in the face of the cliff, from the foot of which the rest of its constructions project. In this portion of it, AMENENTHES is represented making offerings to the consecrated images of his wife's ancestor. He is accompanied by his step-son in these acts of worship. In another place, AMENENTHES worships the boat or sacred ark of the god to whom he dedicates the temple. In this solemn rite, his step-son and pupil is also associated with him. A daughter of his own is likewise represented as taking part in the ceremony.

Neither is the monumental fame of this illustrious queen confined to her capital only. Like her predecessors, she left the memorials of her piety towards her country's gods in the rest of Upper Egypt.

The side-post of a gate found at Ombos bears her first name or that of one of her husbands. It is in the same beautiful style of execution:



i.e., "the gate erected by AMENSES, closing the temple of Sevek."

This fragment, which was completed by the son of AMENSES, is all that remains of an ancient temple which long afterwards was rebuilt by the Ptolemies: so that the zeal of AMENSES and her husbands for the worship of Amun did not interfere with their acts of piety towards the gods of their ancestors.

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At the time when the temple of Ombos was rebuilt, this gateway seems to have been the only remain of the ancient structure. It was evidently regarded with religious reverence, carefully built into the new wall, and made a part of its decoration, the gateway being blocked to prevent further defacement.

There is yet another monument of the reign of AMENSES and her second husband AMENENTHES, of even greater historical interest than those we have already mentioned. The magnificent pair of obeliscs in red granite, which once adorned the entrance to the great temple of the city afterwards called Alexandria, and familiar to all readers as CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLES, were first hewn from the quarries of Syene by AMENENTHES. The first husband of AMENSES (the possible father of her successor) seems to have survived their marriage but a very short time. The monumental indications of his reign would lead us to infer that, like his wife's father, and probably like her brother and predecessor also, he perished in battle. Be this as it may, the monumental fact, that under AMENENTHES the kingdom of the native Pharaohs had stretched itself as far northward as the shores of the Mediterranean, on the extreme western angle of the Delta, is a sure indication that the war against the Lower Egyptians, begun by AMOSIS and revived by ACHENCHERES, was kindled anew in the times of AMENENTHES. It was, in all probability, as a successful warrior that he first aspired to the hand of his sovereign, and it was his military fame that moved her to condescend to his suit.

It is remarkable, that though CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLES

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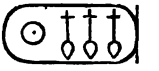
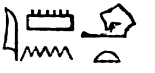
were completed, and probably brought down the Nile, by the successor of AMENENTHES, yet he has not in this instance erased the name against which, on so many other monuments, he seems to have lost no opportunity of giving this utterance to his abhorrence. We probably account for this circumstance by assuming that the city of *Racotis* (the ancient name of Alexandria) was first annexed to the kingdom of Egypt by AMENENTHES, and that his step-son forbore the mutilation in this case as an act of common justice.

AMENENTHES had two other queens besides AMENSES. The name of the one was  *ra-nfru*, and of the other *hi-as-t*. He survived AMENSES for many years, and probably married both these ladies after her death. Polygamy always prevailed in Ancient Egypt.

The duration of the reign of AMENSES is put down in the lists at 22 years. This, however, must be that of her second husband AMENENTHES, by whom all the principal memorials of her reign were executed. As he bore her name, it was natural that all his acts should be ascribed to her. It was probably because he had no relationship by blood with the family of MENES, that AMENENTHES took his wife's name in Lower Egypt.

His name in Upper Egypt seems to have signified, "the beginner [introducer] of Amun"  "the magnifier of Nu." He had probably dedicated a sitting colossus to Nu in some temple of Upper Egypt.

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The actual lapse of time from the conquest of Memphis by AMOSIS, to the death of AMENSES and her husbands, is a question of such difficulty, through the continual co-regencies which we have found to occur, and through the want of correctness in the lists and the absence of desire after it in their compilers, that we can only give it proximately, as in many former instances. We shall probably be able to verify our approximation from other quarters hereafter. We have already given the dates entered against each monarch in the lists. It would appear that the twenty-two years of AMENSES and her husbands were assigned in the archives of Egypt to her brother and her son, so that they represent no actual time whatever. Such is the inference upon which we are driven by the monumental data which we have so fully explained. Reserving the particulars of this chronology for a future occasion, we merely state now, that about eighty years seem to represent the interval between the capture of Memphis by AMOSIS and the death of the queen AMENSES. This latter event therefore took place about the hundred-and-fiftieth year of the sojourn of Israel in the Delta.

Before we proceed with the history of the son of AMENSES, whom Manetho names incorrectly the expeller of the Shepherds, it will be needful to resume our examination of the obscure annals of the Kings of Lower Egypt.

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CHAPTER V.

TERMINATION OF THE CHAMBER OF KARNAK.—CHILDREN OF ASSES.—SHEPHERD-KINGS IN MIDDLE EGYPT.—ESSIOUT.—THOTHMOSIS THE EXPELLER OF THE SHEPHERDS.—HISTORY IN MANETHO.—HISTORY ON MONUMENTS.—EXPLOITS IN 21ST, 22ND, AND 23RD YEARS.—MARRIES A DAUGHTER OF MIDDLE EGYPT, AT MEMPHIS, IN THE BEGINNING OF HIS 23RD YEAR.—AVARIS THE PRIMITIVE NAME OF THE DELTA.—METALS IMPORTED INTO EGYPT BY THE PHENICIANS.—FATHER OF THOTHMOSIS.—HORSE ROADS THROUGH THE DELTA.—SENT PRESENTS TO AMUN AT THEBES.—THEIR GREAT AMOUNT.—CONTRIBUTION OF THE HERMONITES.—BRONZE FROM BABYLON.—MENTION OF THE DAUGHTER OF ARVAD, THE WIFE OF THOTHMOSIS.—RETURNS TO THEBES WITH HIS WIFE AND HER DOWRY IN HIS 24TH YEAR.—GRANITE SANCTUARY OF KARNAK; A HISTORY OF THOTHMOSIS FROM THE 29TH TO THE 35TH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.—WAR IN HIS 29TH YEAR NEAR GHIZEH.—MEMPHIS AGAIN IN THE HANDS OF AN ENEMY.—REPELLED BY THOTHMOSIS.—31ST YEAR, ATTACK ON HADASHA.—CUSTOMS OF WAR.—NAME OF ADAM IN EGYPT.—32ND YEAR MUTILATED.—33RD YEAR, WAR WITH HETH.—ALL COUNTRIES TO THE EAST OF EGYPT NAHARAIN.—ISRAELITES CALLED HERMON.—34TH YEAR.—HETH.—THE CANAANITES IN THE DELTA.—SCARCITY OF TIMBER IN EGYPT.—CUSH.—35TH YEAR.—THE WATERS OF NAHARAIN.—THE PELUSIAC BRANCH.—TREATY WITH HETH.—39TH YEAR, WAR BROKE OUT AFRESH.—HIS WARS PRINCIPALLY TREATIES.—PROBABLY CEDED THE WHOLE OF HIS LOWER EGYPTIAN POSSESSIONS TO THE XOITE KING.—TOMB AT GOURNOU.—FOREIGNERS.—BRICKMAKERS.—LOWER EGYPTIANS AND CANAANITES.—WORKS IN THE REST OF THEBES; AT HELIOPOLIS; AT ALEXANDRIA.—HIS INCESTUOUS PARENTAGE.—LENGTH OF REIGN.

We have now reached the latest epoch to which the genealogy of the Chamber of Karnak extends. The

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last of the kings recorded there must, therefore, now be examined. We take them the last in the order of our inquiry; but they were really the first that were inscribed in the Chamber; and the displacements which render the other parts of this genealogy so intricate, were suggested by the consecutive arrangement of the two co-regent lines of Lower Egyptian kings, whose history we must now endeavour to unravel.

The children of ASSES retreated into the Delta, and founded a kingdom, the capital of which was the city of Succoth or Xois. Their dominions appear to have extended as far to the northward as the extremity of the cemetery of Memphis, now called Ghizeh. Here they especially devoted themselves to the worship of the god-king SEPHRES, in his pyramid.* There cannot be a doubt that they proceeded with the elaboration of the sphinx from its living rock, and with the rest of the works of decoration which once adorned the second pyramid and its stupendous precinct. They seem to have entertained the idea of making SEPHRES a great god in all Egypt, in especial rivalry with Amun. In token of their devotion to SEPHRES, they all took names which were compounds of his. We have seen † that the second and the third SESORTOSES had both included the same title in their names in Lower Egypt, doubtless out of respect to the memory of SEPHRES. We have also found that SESORTOSIS III. was highly successful in his war against his southern enemies of Egypt. His success would, in these remote times, be ascribed to the aid of the deified SEPHRES,

* Vol. i. pp. 301, *seq.* † Above, p. 12.

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whose name he had thus honoured. The sons of ASSES would, therefore, be encouraged to adopt it in the hope of obtaining the same aid against their southern enemies, the Upper Egyptians. The first of these kings (H 6), must have been a benefactor to his dominions, and have had a prosperous and peaceable reign. The same blessings were, doubtless, also continued to the Xoite kingdom under the reign of his successor (H 7); for the names of both these monarchs were long afterwards assumed, under the Saite kings of the 26th dynasty (700 B.C.), by pretenders to the throne of Egypt in the island of Conosso, which is close to Philæ in the south of Upper Egypt, and in Argo, in Ethiopia. This interesting fact was elicited by the researches of the Prussian Expedition to Egypt in 1843.* The prosperity of the Xoite kingdom at this period is still more unequivocally shown by the position of the following name in the Chamber of Karnak (H 8). He was the first king who occupied the post assigned in the general arrangement of the Chamber to the conquerors of Memphis. The order of his succession was not disturbed for the purpose of placing him there, for the whole Chamber was blank when

H 6.

H 7.

H 8.

* See Abt. ii. bl. 151. The style of execution of both the statues and inscriptions, so clearly shown in the beautiful and faithful copies of Lepsius, at once decides the era to which they belong. In the multiplicity of his pursuits, the illustrious author has overseen this palpable fact, and inadvertently arranged them as the work of the kings who first bore the names.

The strange whim of these Saite kings, to take the names of their remote predecessors unaltered, often occasions difficulties and raises doubts in the monumental successions.

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his name and those of the rest of the kings of his line were inscribed. The artist had, therefore, merely to arrange them so as to place him in the post of honour. The name of this monarch differs only in the number of the last group from that of his predecessor, SESORTOSIS III., in Lower Egypt. It was, doubtless, the success of the former to the southward of his dominions, in the capture of Memphis from the Upper Egyptians, that procured him the distinction of a name thus closely allied to that of the deified conqueror of Ethiopia.

Thus does it appear that the three immediate successors of ASSES were illustrious kings, with a prosperous and progressive kingdom in the Delta, entirely independent of AMOSIS and his descendants at Thebes; treating for peace with them, and declaring war against them. This important fact is confirmed by the account of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. They must have been the subjects of such a kingdom, or their wonderfully rapid advance in numbers and influence would have been impossible.

The monuments hitherto discovered afford us no data whatever whereby to synchronize these kings and the events of their reigns with the co-regent line of Pharaohs at Thebes; but we shall find them to afford us evidence amply abundant, that Memphis was recaptured and in the hands of the Lower Egyptians during a considerable portion of this period. It seems likely that this misfortune happened to Upper Egypt during the wars of MESPHRES, in Ethiopia,* which would naturally tend to leave defenceless the opposite border of the kingdom.

* Above, pp. 179, *seq.*

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Two other successions on the Xoite throne are also noted at Karnak. We know nothing of their reigns or history. The last of them must have been nearly cotemporary with THOTHMOSIS.

G 1.

G 2.

A very few fragments of buildings, with the names of these kings, have occasionally been found at Alexandria, and in other localities of the Delta. These are our only coeval materials for their histories.

A still more obscure succession of Pharaohs seems also to have been co-regent in Middle Egypt with the successors of AMOSIS in Upper Egypt, and of ASSES in the Delta, during the very difficult interval of our history that is now before us. Our monumental acquaintance with them is confined altogether to the Chamber of Karnak, and to the inscription on a single ruined tomb at Essiout, which is in the south of Middle Egypt. From this last monument we find, that they wrote their names in one ring only. It follows from hence, as well as from their position in the upper row of the Chamber of Karnak, that they must have been of the Shepherd or Lower Egyptian line of Pharaohs. They are so arranged in the Chamber, that the last of them sits at the head of one of the middle planes (G). The general order of the whole suggests the inference, that this monarch was one of the father-kings of the genealogy, and that he shares this peculiar honour with the father of AMOSIS, who sits immediately below him (F 7), and with AMENEMES (B 8), and MENES (C 9), on the opposite side of the Chamber. As this king (whose name is erased) was cotemporary with THOTHMOSIS,

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the constructer of the Chamber, or nearly so, it would seem probable that it was as his father-in-law that THOTHMOSIS worshipped him, and that by this mode of pacification the whole of the Middle Egyptian kingdom passed by right of succession to the sovereignty of THOTHMOSIS.

We can merely state, concerning this obscure line of Pharaohs, the further probability, that they were the descendants of the Viceroy of MELANERES; that they assisted AMOSIS in the capture of Memphis; that they reigned in some portion of Middle Egypt, the limits of which we are not now able to define, and that they were on terms of friendship and close alliance with the Theban Pharaohs throughout the whole of the present interval. This marriage, by which a large portion of fertile and well-peopled territory was added to the dominions of THOTHMOSIS, was the harbinger of a brilliant and prosperous reign. We have traced the same effect to the same cause on several previous occasions.

The succession stands thus in the Chamber of Karnak:

G 3. G 4. G 5. G 6. G 7. G 8.

The king whose name appears at Essiout (G 6) was a warlike monarch. The all but utterly defaced paintings of the tomb still retain the traces of a corps of soldiers, with the round shield and horned helmet of Arvad. The

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tomb, like so many in its neighbourhood, is of dimensions equalling, at least, the most spacious of those of the days of APHOPHIS and his successors. Their constructers had, therefore, a large amount of forced labour at their command. They, doubtless, aided the sons of AMOSIS in the completion of the conquest of Nubia and Ethiopia. Had the vast series of noble vaults in the rock of Essiout remained in the all but perfect state of preservation in which they were first discovered by Europeans in 1798, we should have been able to have thrown considerable light upon this very obscure incident in the history of Egypt; but so complete has been their wanton destruction by the Turks, that scarcely a dozen groups remain legible in the whole cemetery: whereas, when Denon was in Egypt,* he excused himself from giving specimens of the paintings and inscriptions in the tombs of Essiout, under the plea, that to copy them completely would be the occupation of years.

This brief episode brings to its termination the genealogy in the Chamber of Karnak, and our certain monumental knowledge of the Xoite kingdom in the Delta. We shall find it shadowed forth in our subsequent history under the epithet, at once obscure and opprobrious, of Upper Arvad.

We subjoin a diagram of the portion of this chamber, the kings of which face to the right from the entrance.

* *Voyage en Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 5.

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LOWER EGYPTIANS, OR SHEPHERDS.

1—5. Descendants of the Viceroy of MELANERES. p. 146.	6—8. Xoites— descendants from ASSES. p. 9.	9. Conqueror of Memphis.	H		
1—2. Xoites— 2 was near the times of THOTHMOSIS.	3—7. Shepherds in Middle Egypt co-regent with 18th dynasty.	8. Father-in-law of THOTHMOSIS, successor of 7.	G		

UPPER EGYPTIANS, OR MENCHERIAN PHARAOHS.

1—4. Co-regent with APEOPHIS. p 140.	5, 6. Co-regent with JANNES and ASSES. p. 141.	7. Father of AMOSIS. p. 142.	F		
1—6. Co-regent with APEOPHIS. pp. 130—140.		7. AMOSIS. p. 142.	E		

The immediate ancestors of THOTHMOSIS, *i.e.*, AMOSIS to ACHENCHERES, are worshipped in other parts of the palace.

We are now in position to return to the history of the sons of AMOSIS.

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THOTHMOSIS.

This monarch was one of the heroes of the history of Egypt. He is celebrated by Manetho as the expeller of the Shepherds. The fame of his successful wars against the northern enemies of his dominions, stands recorded at this day on the ruins of the temples of the capitals of Egypt. These archives of the reign of THOTHMOSIS are very voluminous, when compared with those of any of his predecessors; but they are greatly mutilated; and this circumstance combines with the diffuse rambling style and obscure phraseology, which we have more than once explained to be characteristics of the literature of Ancient Egypt, to render the amount of actual information they convey by no means extensive. We hope, however, to show that enough appears from them to identify this monarch with the THOTHMOSIS of Manetho; and also fully to verify our reading of the Shepherd invasion.

THOTHMOSIS, like PHIOPS, and other hero-kings of Egypt, was made co-regent with his parents on the day of his birth. It is from this circumstance that the dates of his reign, which are very frequent on the monuments, extend up to his forty-sixth or forty-seventh year; whereas, according to all the copies of the lists, his reign lasted for nine years only. This number represents the length of his reign after the death of his parents; whereas he dated his monuments from the year of his coronation, which, as we have said before, was that of his birth.

The monuments of THOTHMOSIS are numerous in

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many localities, both of Egypt and Nubia. His is the first name of a Theban Pharaoh which has been found at Heliopolis since the times of SESORTOSIS I. We will now endeavour to give the history of his reign, which we have been able to gather from the careful study of those monuments.

According to Manetho,* THOTHMOSIS was the son of AMOSIS, or *Misphragmouthosis*, as he names him, which appears to be some hopeless corruption of the phrases in both rings. This relationship the monuments show to be an error in its literal acceptation. THOTHMOSIS was the sixth descendant of AMOSIS. The historical fragment before us implies the same fact, notwithstanding the formal statement that THOTHMOSIS was the son of AMOSIS. Its dates clearly interpose some considerable interval between the conquest of Memphis and the expulsion of the Shepherds. When AMOSIS first attacked the Shepherd kingdom, it had lasted, according to his account, for 511 years, whereas, immediately before, he had put down the duration of the rule of the Shepherds in Egypt at 769 or 802 years; pointing, thereby, to a conclusion inevitable, as we apprehend, that though the first attack upon the Shepherds was made by AMOSIS, they were not expelled from Egypt until long afterwards.

To complete the evidence, *à priori*, that some considerable interval elapsed between AMOSIS and THOTHMOSIS, the lists interpose five successions, and about 100 years between them. All the four copies that we possess agree in this. THOTHMOSIS, whose history is

* Jos. Contr. Apion, i. 14.

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now before us, is the only king with this name in any of them. We conclude, therefore, that he was likewise *the expeller of the Shepherds*, of the history. The name thus identified is as follows.

The former of these rings reads *mēn-chru-ra*, "fertile creator, sun." The latter, THOTHMOSIS (*i.e.*, "child of the god Thoth") *nfr-chru*, "good in creations."

Lower Egypt. Upper Egypt.

It is worthy of remark, that though we find from the monuments that three of the predecessors of this king also bore the name THOTHMOSIS, it is, nevertheless, applied to him only. In all these names it is the first title in the Upper Egyptian ring. It would, therefore, be the principal and distinctive name, according to the ordinary rule. Notwithstanding, his predecessors are designated in the lists by other titles in their hieroglyphic names; in order, probably, that this might be reserved for the greatest king that ever bore it. THOTHMOSIS was, accordingly, one of the hero-kings of Egypt, and his name and fame are co-extensive with her utmost borders and cover her entire surface.

The earliest known monument of THOTHMOSIS is the temple of Semneh, which, as we have already explained,* was dedicated to the worship of his ancestor SESORTOSIS III., under impersonations of Ra and Thoth, which are by no means easy to understand. The dedication took place in the second year of THOTHMOSIS, on the seventh day of Paoni, the tenth month. This would be in the infancy of THOTHMOSIS. Such anticipations are by no

* Above, p. 35.

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means uncommon. The temple was begun and dedicated at this date. He completed it during his reign. It is everywhere recorded in the inscriptions that cover this beautiful temple, that SESORTOSIS III. had been the first to consecrate the site of it.

On the opposite bank of the Nile, at Kummeh, THOTHMOSIS likewise dedicated a temple to SESORTOSIS III., whom he here identifies with Nu, the god of the annual overflow. Both these constructions bear the name of ACHENCHERES also; thus confirming both our surmise regarding the age of THOTHMOSIS when these temples were begun, and also our suspicion as to the nature of the relationship between these two monarchs.

At Wady Halfa, in Upper Nubia, a large temple was dedicated by him to the divinity of the place. At Ibrim, somewhat to the north of Wady Halfa, THOTHMOSIS has hewn in the face of the rock a small votive temple, expressive of his reverence for the divinity of the place. At Amada, in Lower Nubia, he dedicated a superb temple to RA, or the sun, whom he seems to have constituted local god of the city he built there. This temple was finished by his descendants. In other places in Nubia his name has also been copied from religious remains of various kinds. It would appear from the monuments that there was peace on the southern frontier of Egypt during the reign of THOTHMOSIS; and that the hardy sons of Cush and Phut, already deeply tinged with the fierce fervours of the sun of central Africa, contributed voluntarily the marbles and gems of their mountains to the decoration of the gorgeous temples commenced by THOTHMOSIS.

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In Upper Egypt, south of Thebes, the remains of the era of THOTHMOSIS are also very remarkable. At Ombos and at Eilethya he adores Sevek, "the crocodile," the ancient tutelary god of his family, in temples which have long since perished, though a few fragments still preserve the record of his name. He also made additions to the temple dedicated to the same divinity at Esneh in the same portion of Upper Egypt; that to the southward of Thebes. The oldest name which has been discovered in the temple of Esneh is that of his grandfather, and possibly his father also, MESPHRES.

The vast remains of the era of THOTHMOSIS at Thebes we shall describe hereafter. To the northward of that capital his name is only read posthumously, at Abydos, at Heliopolis, and at Alexandria in the Delta. These monumental facts certainly suggest the inference, that in the days even of this hero-king, the sovereignty of Middle Egypt was by no means finally settled to the Theban crown; and that his dominions were still in the position which had suggested to his ancestors the assumption of double names. Upper and Lower Egypt were separated from each other by a tract of an independent or imperfectly-conquered country.

Having now, as we hope, identified the THOTHMOSIS of the monuments with the *Thothmosis* of Manetho's history, we can with more confidence proceed to consider the circumstances it narrates.

THOTHMOSIS raised an army of 480,000 men, and, forming a leaguer round the walls of Avaris (which he had before told us were 10,000 arouræ in circuit) he endeavoured to reduce it by a siege; but he ultimately

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gave up the attempt in despair, and entered into negociations with them, the issue of which was, that the Shepherds should depart from Egypt and go unhurt whither they would. They left in consequence, to the number of 4,800,000.*

The tone of this narrative is not that of a brilliant success, from the pen of one of the priestly historians of Ancient Egypt. Had the Shepherds, indeed, been expelled by THOTHMOSIS, the achievement would assuredly have been ushered in by a louder trumpet-blast. We have now seen enough of the cotemporary history of Egypt, to be certain that a signal overthrow of an enemy would never be clothed in a guise like this; for THOTHMOSIS, according to it, actually did nothing but raise a vast army and attempt an impossibility, which, of course, terminated in a failure. The facts we seem to derive from the narration amount to nothing more than that THOTHMOSIS was at war with the Shepherds in the beginning of his reign and suffered a defeat, after which he made with them treaties of mutual concession and amity; so that for the rest of his reign there was peace between the two belligerents.

Let us now endeavour to collect the monumental history of the reign of THOTHMOSIS, as it is written on the walls of the palace of Karnak, the most glorious of the monuments of Thebes.

Our readers are aware, that the chamber of kings there was, according to our view, constructed to commemorate the marriage of THOTHMOSIS with the daughter of the Lower Egyptian Pharaoh reigning in some part

* This last particular is a blundering anticipation of the Exodus.

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of the valley between Thebes and Memphis, and that at the time of this marriage there was peace among all the three families of the line of MENES pretending to the throne of Pharaoh. In the portion of the same majestic ruin contiguous to this chamber, are ranges of wall partly of granite and partly of the lime-stone of the rest of the palace, but all completely covered with many hundreds of closely-written vertical columns of hieroglyphics. This highly-interesting text relates altogether to the wars and triumphs of THOTHMOSIS, and to the rich offerings of prisoners and properties which he dedicated to the construction of the temple. It has more the air of a history than any text that has yet been discovered. So far as can be ascertained in its present very mutilated condition, it is not one connected narrative, but several separate inscriptions written at uncertain intervals. The occasions were, probably, the completing of successive portions of the vast edifice.

I. The earliest of these inscriptions, in point of date, relates to the dedication to the temple of the spoils taken in the course of the 21st and 22nd years of the reign of THOTHMOSIS. It consists of twenty columns of hieroglyphics, which originally were about four feet high. More than the upper half of the first seven columns has disappeared, with the block on which they were engraved, which has fallen from the ruined wall; the rest of them are also somewhat deficient at the top. The inscription professes to be a catalogue of the spoils taken from Cush, in the south, and Arvad, in the north. The mutilation at the beginning renders it difficult to ascertain, from the inscription, the order

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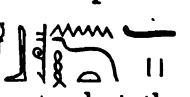
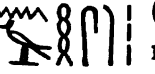
in which these two wars were undertaken; but the reliefs that accompany them happily solve the difficulty. THOTHMOSIS appears in them, receiving life, first from the goddess Maut, the queen of the south, as a conqueror of the southern people, and then he receives the same blessing from Amun, on which occasion the king wears the red crown of the north. Hence we infer that THOTHMOSIS, in his twenty-first year, headed a warlike expedition against the Nubians; and that in his twenty-second year, he had transactions either of peace or war with the kings of North Egypt.* The remains of the inscription itself are rendered far more intelligible by this indication.

The first property collected consisted of two elephants' tusks, richly carved and highly polished  (c. 1). The high value set upon these is denoted by the circumstance that they stand at the head of the yearly tribute demanded by the conqueror of the vanquished, and which amounted to 144 rings of gold. Besides these, 101 black men and women  (c. 2) were taken prisoners, and, for the ransom of these, the conqueror obtained 809 head of great cattle. The elephants' tusks and the negro captives clearly point out that the first expedition headed by the young king went to the southward.

So greatly is this part of the inscription mutilated, that we are not able to give any other particulars of this war of THOTHMOSIS in Ethiopia, in his twenty-first year. We shall find, however, that his precedent was followed by the most eminent of his successors.

* Lepsius, Abt. iii. bl. 30.

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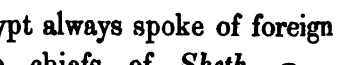
It became one of the sacred traditions of the monarchy, that Pharaoh should signalise the year of his accession to the kingly function by an expedition against the southern enemies of Egypt. This coincidence renders it probable that THOTHMOSIS was associated with his mother and his father-in-law as actual king of Egypt in the twenty-first year of his age and of his formal reign.

In his twenty-second year THOTHMOSIS went into Lower Egypt to collect *the tribute of the chiefs of Arvad*; in the arrogant phrase of the inscription (c. 4). It was thus that  the historians of Ancient Egypt always spoke of foreign allies. The tribute of the chiefs of *Sheth* is also spoken of immediately afterwards (c. 7).

It appears, nevertheless, from the rest of the inscriptions, that both the potentates thus designated were the allies of THOTHMOSIS, and that their territory lay within the bounds of Egypt. The "chiefs of Sheth or Moab" was probably a name for the Middle Egyptian kingdom, with whose sovereign THOTHMOSIS soon afterwards allied himself by marriage. By Arvad was meant, as we have already explained, the kingdom of Lower Egypt, or the Delta. THOTHMOSIS formed an alliance with both these monarchs, and, doubtless with their aid, entered upon a warlike expedition against some Canaanite enemy of the king of Lower Egypt, which was of course successful, or the record of it would not have appeared. His share of the spoil he dedicated to the construction of the portion of the temple at Karnak on which the exploit is inscribed.

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The vicinity of this inscribed wall to the genealogical Chamber of Kings, seems to point to the high probability that the marriage of THOTHMOSIS with the daughter of the king of Middle Egypt was also an event which took place in this twenty-second year of his age and reign. This last event had doubtless some special commemoration in the same neighbourhood, which has perished, together with the greater part of the rest of the constructions of THOTHMOSIS at Karnak.

There are several other particulars preserved in this inscription which it will be incumbent upon us also to notice.

The expedition against the Canaanite enemy of Lower Egypt was a *commando* for the sole object of plunder. A single stronghold was surprised and sacked. Its name, which is nearly erased, seems to have been written (c. 12), and apparently consists of the consonants of *Ashnah*,* which is the name of one of the cities of Judah, on the border of the desert of Suez. Like every other place without the north-eastern border of Egypt, it is said to be in the country of *Naharain*, or Mesopotamia (c. 13). In this surprise, 691 prisoners were taken, and twenty-nine men perished in the defence. Sixty-eight horses were also captured by the Egyptians. 295 of the prisoners were admitted to ransom, and the redemption of these and of the mutilated bodies of the slain, amounted to 1100 rings of gold, besides bundles of spears and shields, logs of hard wood, and blocks of granite and other precious stones (c. 12).

* Josh. xv. 33.

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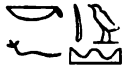
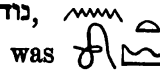
THOTHMOSIS brought these his spoils to the city of Memphis, which is here written not with its ordinary Egyptian name, as in the tomb of the prince Amosis, but with that whereby it was known in Canaan, *Noph*, נף, (c. 11). We have already had occasion to explain that this mode of writing the name of a city in Egypt denotes it to have been at the time in the hands of another power. We have also ascertained from the Chamber of Kings that Memphis was now in the possession of the Pharaohs of the Delta. Here, then, is another instance in which these several monumental inscriptions check and confirm each other.

Some other names of places, probably in the desert of Suez, are mentioned as having been attacked in the course of the expedition; but, being at the tops of the columns (cc. 11, 18), are mutilated, and therefore illegible. Two other foreign nations are also named in the course of the inscription, but merely as the producers of works of art, or of skilled artists. *Sheba*,  probably the modern *Akaba*, on the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, was celebrated for the manufacture of vessels of silver; and the workmen of *Nod*, נוד,  which, according to modern philology, was Lydia,* were also in repute, probably as goldsmiths. We shall find many similar examples of this commercial reputation in the course of the inscriptions that are now before us.

This expedition of THOTHMOSIS, like that of the preceding year, had also a formal and official character. It was incumbent upon the king of Egypt, on his

* See *The New Cratylus.*

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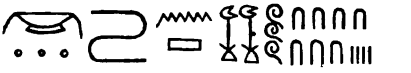
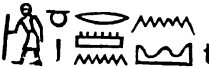
accession, to perform warlike achievements, first against the southern, and then against the northern, enemies of his country. We shall find this to be the case with some of the greatest of the successors of THOTHMOSIS.

The actual value contributed by THOTHMOSIS to Karnak from the spoils of these two expeditions, was computed at 2374 *solid rings of gold* (c. 19). As we  know nothing, either of the weight of these rings, or the corn value of gold at the period, it is utterly in vain to attempt any equivalent for this number in modern currency. We can only say generally, that it must have been a very large contribution. This amount was devoted solemnly and in perpetuity to the erection of the temple of Karnak.

II. The inscription which, from its place on the wall, seems to have been written immediately after the one we have just examined, proves likewise to be the next in order of date. It consists of thirty-three columns of hieroglyphics, which may have been originally about ten feet high.* It contains the transactions of the reign of THOTHMOSIS, in the early part of his twenty-third year. At the commencement of the year, THOTHMOSIS was in Arvad, and engaged in building a temple there in commemoration of his victories of the preceding years. He was assisted in this work by *the chiefs in the land of Hermon.*  We need scarcely explain that this was the name of a high mountain in the north-east of the Holy Land. In later times, it was confined to one snowy

* Lepsius, Abt. iii. bl. 30 b.

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peak; but when Canaan was first subdued by the Israelites, the name extended to the entire series of ridges and peaks which form the southern terminations of the ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and the northern boundary of the land of Canaan.* It is doubtless in this earlier acceptation that Hermon is used here, and in many other hieroglyphic texts. It denotes the people inhabiting the foot of this great ridge of mountains, thickly clothed with forest trees. We know from other authorities that this people was of the race of Arvad, and that their possessions extended for a considerable distance to the northward, along the fertile line of coast between the lower ranges of Lebanon and the Great (or Mediterranean) Sea. The many sons of Canaan generally confederated together, and formed united colonies. Arvad and Sidon, two of his sons, seem to have been in this manner confederated.† The territory they occupied lay altogether along the coast of the Mediterranean. That of Sidon (who was the first-born of Canaan) was the northernmost, and over against Lebanon; while opposite the land of Arvad was the mountain range anciently named Hermon. The lower hills of both ranges, in the vicinity of the coast, were clothed with forest trees, as is the case with similar hills in the whole of this part of Asia. It was this circumstance, combined with the natural formation of the coast, which presented great conveniences for harbourage, that doubtless first suggested to the sons of Sidon and Arvad the con-

* See Deut. iii. 9; iv. 47—49. Josh. xi. 3; xii. 1; &c.
† Gen. x. 15, 18.

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struction of ships, and the navigation of the Great Sea for the purposes of commerce or war, with the inhabitants of its vast coast line. We need scarcely mention that the chief cities of both these confederated nations were seaports; that the Sidonians named their metropolis after their forefather, Sidon; and the Arvadites theirs, from its strong impregnable position, *Tyre*,* צור, that is, the "rock," the "fortress." These two cities were, as is well known, the marts of the commerce by sea of the primitive world. It seems a probable and natural arrangement, that the ships of Sidon would principally trade with the nations inhabiting the north coast of the Mediterranean, and that the trade of Arvad would be mainly with countries to the southward. In accordance with this probability, we shall find Arvad and Tyre to be frequently named in these hieroglyphic histories of the kings of Upper Egypt; while, on the other hand, the name of Sidon only occurs in the latest and last of them, in the times of which the commerce of the world had greatly extended, so that nations far more distant were known to the Egyptians.

There is yet another peculiarity in the external policy of Sidon and Arvad, which is highly important to be known for the illustration of the intercourse of the latter with primitive Egypt. It was their custom to establish small settlements or factories of their own people in the principal ports and cities of all the countries with which they traded. That the ancient cities of Carthage in North Africa, and Tartessus in

* Tyre was built by the Arvadites (see Ezek. xxvii. 8).

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Spain were thus planted, are facts of history familiar to most men. It is equally well known that the colonies of the Phenicians (so the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon were named by the Greeks and Latins) extended as far as Scilly and the Cornish coast, in our own group of islands.

We can state upon the authority of the Greek tradition, that this great trading confederacy of the ancient world carried on extensive commerce with Egypt, and also planted colonies there. To omit all lesser authorities, Herodotus tells us that the trade between Egypt and Argos in the Peloponesus, the most ancient city of Greece, was in the hands of the Phenicians, and was the oldest in the world.* It was so ancient that it extended far into the times of the Greek mythology.† With equal precision and formality, he tells us afterwards that a Phenician settlement existed in his time in the heart of the city of Memphis, and that it was named *the camp of the Tyrians*;‡ and we can have no better proof of the very high antiquity which the guides of Herodotus assigned to this settlement, than that he himself endeavours to show that it must have existed in the days of the Greek demi-god Proteus.§ The inference we would draw from these ancient facts, in combination with the name of Hermon which is now before us, appears to be a very obvious one. The Hermonites, or chiefs of the land of Hermon, were the Phenician or Tyrian traders, who visited Lower Egypt periodically

* Herod. i. 1.
† i. 5, ii. 49, &c. &c.
‡ Τυρίων στρατόπεδον.
§ ii. c. 112.

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for the purpose of traffic, and were also in alliance with THOTHMOSIS. They were so named after the country of which they were inhabitants. Arvad, on the other hand, was the name of their forefather, and was therefore given to their brethren who had formed settlements in Egypt in the first instance; and afterwards, as we have often explained, to the Lower Egyptians, their allies and protectors, in scorn and contempt.

It can scarcely be too often repeated, that foreigners, of whatever nation, are never mentioned in these boastful, insolent compositions, but as conquered enemies, prostrate at the feet of Pharaoh, and begging or treating for their lives; so that it is only from the tenor of the texts (and occasionally of the reliefs that accompany them), that foreign allies and foreign enemies can be distinguished from each other. A pregnant example of this insolence appears in the text now before us. The terror of the name of THOTHMOSIS is said (c. 1.) to have seized the hearts of the chiefs of Hermon to such an extent, that they were glad to purchase immunity from their justly-deserved chastisement, by furnishing him ships for the transport of his spoils from Arvad to Thebes; which means nothing more than that THOTHMOSIS brought to Thebes large offerings from Lower Egypt in ships, purchased or procured by hire or treaty from the Phenician traders, by his allies, the Lower Egyptians. Such is the information conveyed in the first column of the inscription before us.

In the second column, we find that THOTHMOSIS convened a solemn assembly to celebrate his victories over Arvad, the wicked race, and the extension of the

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borders of Egypt which had accrued therefrom. We can scarcely have a clearer proof than this expression, that Arvad meant the Lower Egyptian kingdom in the Delta, and that the temples which the first column told us that THOTHMOSIS built in the land of Arvad are those, the remains of which are still visible at Heliopolis and Alexandria. As we proceed, the truth of this our interpretation will become apparent. It will then be seen that we also rightly interpret the boasted success in war which this inscription professes to commemorate. It was assuredly a pacific negociation with Lower Egypt, concluded at the commencement of his 23rd year. All but certainly it was the marriage settlement of THOTHMOSIS, and the lands and properties recorded in it were the dower of his queen.

We find in the 3rd column that the festival instituted to celebrate this occasion was to last for an entire decad, and comprehended the five days of the epact, and the five preceding days. In the fourth column is the ritual or bill of fare for the daily meat and drink offerings in the temple of Karnak during this festival. A great variety of dishes and of drinks is directed to be set forth.

In the 5th column it is written, that the king arrived at Thebes on the 14th day of the 3rd month, Choiak, bringing along with him a colossal statue either of himself or of Amun, most probably the latter. It is worthy of note, that the royal metropolis has here the epithet of *Thebes in the south*. To celebrate this august arrival, the king

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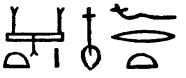
summoned *a great assembly* on the same day, and set forth *meats and drinks*, even calves, oxen, bulls, geese, incense, wine. The other particulars of the banquet have disappeared from the beginning of the 6th column.

In column 6th, we find that in commemoration of these events, THOTHMOSIS presented "for the *completion* of the *building* of this house (the temple of Karnak) *bondslaves, men and women,* whom he had made, bound with metal chains, girt about the loins with white linen of a cubit in breadth, and *collared* for servitude with * the *collar* of their country; procured (or offered) by the chiefs of (*erased*) to complete the building of this house."

The following column relates that THOTHMOSIS also offered "for the completion of the *avenue* (of sphinxes)  (*lit.*, 'the good way') that led to the gate of the god and to the gate of the goddess, black men and black women. These the king offered to his father Amun at the commencement of his auspicious 23rd year, and bound by muniments or writings to this temple for ever." From the greatly-

* Some badge of servitude, probably a metal gorget set with spikes, riveted by the slave-merchants round the necks of their victims.

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mutilated conclusion of this line, we learn that the value of this offering from the land of the Delta amounted to 878, probably rings of gold. This number may have been preceded by thousands; they are defaced.

One of the subdivisions of the inscription concludes here.

It is clear that the whole transaction now before us—the marriage of THOTHMOSIS with the daughter of the Shepherd-king of Middle Egypt, took place at Memphis. It is highly probable, that the families of the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs in Middle Egypt and the Delta were closely united by marriage as well as by blood. There was at this time full peace between all the three pretensions. The daughter of Middle Egypt whom THOTHMOSIS married was probably fatherless, and therefore queen in her own right. The king of the Delta we assume to have been her maternal grandfather. In token of amity and good feeling he made THOTHMOSIS, on the occasion of his marriage, co-regent with him at Heliopolis and Memphis, and assisted him in the construction of temples both at Heliopolis and at Karnak. It was in the slave marts of the Delta that the black and white captives were purchased whom THOTHMOSIS offered to Amun for the completion of his temple at Karnak. These were evidently the transactions which the mendacious arrogance of the Egyptian priesthood transmuted into victories over foreign enemies, and triumphal marches with captives and spoil. Such was the genius of the idolatry of Egypt.

The remainder of this inscription has more of a

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rubrical and less of an historical character than that which has preceded it. It abounds, nevertheless, with important illustrations both of history and manners. We are informed in the 8th column, that THOTHMOSIS presented, for the supply of the daily milk-offerings of the temple, the milch kine both of Upper and Lower Egypt, namely, two cows of the cattle of the land of Heth, and one cow of the cattle of the land of Cush. One other cow from some other locality was also offered, but the name has disappeared at the beginning of the line. The sum of the offering was "four milch kine, and they were presented that the golden milk-vessels (of the shew-tables) might be filled with their milk from day to day, according to the prescription." As Amun, at Karnak, was king of the north, and Maut, his goddess, queen of the south, the milk of the cows of the northern country of Heth was set forth before Amun, while the cow from Ethiopia to the southward supplied with milk the shew-tables of the images of Maut.

In the 9th column, the king devotes to the temple the produce of certain sluices in the land of Arvad, and adjacent to a city therein, the name of which is written thus: . It is of the utmost importance that we endeavour to identify this name, which, from the following text, must evidently have been that of a great and noted city. In the same series of records, at a considerably later date (in the 35th year of THOTHMOSIS), the same city in the same district is written somewhat differently. The three first characters of this

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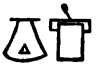
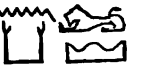
transcription are the old word, *ar*, עיר, "a city." It is not in the other reading, with the three first characters of which the remainder of the group corresponds. It reads *ono*, which is the trivial name of the city of Heliopolis, the *On*, און, of the Hebrew Bible. It is so written, instead of with its ordinary transcription, to denote that it was not under the sceptre of THOTHMOSIS, but of the king of the Delta, his grandfather or brother-in-law. The utter intolerance of the priesthood branded this monarch a Shepherd, because of his encouragement of the now rapidly increasing clan of shepherd strangers that were sojourning in his dominions. The two last characters in the group  before us, mean *the lower* [or northern] *sluice* (flood-gate), and doubtless designate some tract of irrigated land to the northward of the city, the produce of which was devoted by THOTHMOSIS and his father-in-law to the temple of Karnak.

Another property was likewise dedicated to the temple, * *collected* from a locality, the name of which will also demand our closest attention.  It is of frequent occurrence in the course of the inscriptions now before us. The two first characters, *nk*, we have already met with elsewhere,† and found to correspond to the Coptic word, NOGIK, "pollution," "adultery." It is, therefore, used here as an opprobrious epithet of the district or territory in question, which is consequently designated by

* The first character is *the tongue of an ox*, in the the act of *gathering up* the herbage which the teeth have bitten off.

† Above, p. 89.

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the remaining character in the group, the lion. The Egyptian name of the lion was derived from the sound the animal uttered (Copt. ⲙⲟⲩⲉ, Hierog. *moo*), like that of every other living creature. But the primitive name of the king of beasts was more nobly derived from his gesture and natural qualities, אריה, *aryeh*. Singularly enough, the Egyptian texts have preserved the primitive sense, which is lost to the Hebrew, and even the metaphorical or initial use of the lion, in the word ⲁⲣⲉϩ, *areh*, "to guard," "to observe."* Now we have lately ascertained, that Manetho used the name Ἀουαρις as applied to the whole Eastern Delta, if not to the entire district between the mouths of the Nile. We infer from hence, that *Areh* or *the lion-land*, was the ancient name of the Eastern Delta, which Manetho has transcribed in Greek characters, *Avaris;* and that being at this period not in the possession of THOTHMOSIS, it is entitled in these inscriptions, *the impure lion-land*. The great vigilance required by the

* The distinctive title of the head of a dynasty (*above*, p 157), was derived from the vigilant habits of this noble creature. Champollion rightly translated this epithet, "vigilant over both Egypts," though he did not perceive the verbal origin of its import. This hieroglyphic group connects the two imports of the word *areh*, which meant "vigilance" for the purpose of vengeance; because the lion, from his well-known habit of crouching unperceived for his prey, and then suddenly springing upon it, was made the symbol of the divine vengeance upon transgression, as impersonate in the king. One of the titles assumed by MEMNON on the lions of AMOUN-TU-ENH, is "lion, vigilant in both Egypts." It is also about the epoch now before us, that we first find the Eumenides, or "goddesses inflicting the divine vengeance" of the Egyptian mythology, represented with the heads of lions.

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first settlers against their neighbours in the desert of Suez, would naturally suggest this as an appropriate appellation of their eastern border.

It appears, that three-fourths of the produce of the districts in question were devoted yearly to the temple of Karnak.

The 10th column informs us, that metals of various kinds formed a part of the tribute or dower which THOTHMOSIS received from the king of the Delta. The king, having received this contribution, devoted to the building of the temple gold, silver, bronze, copper, iron, tin, lead, and two other mixed metals, the one used in the manufacture of the delicate graving tools of the hieroglypts, the other in the forging of fetters, and all in large quantities. It is important and highly interesting to discover here, that even while the Israelites were in Egypt, the vessels of the Phenician traders were exploring the most distant coasts of the Mediterranean, and had, probably, already passed the pillars of Hercules; and that they were bringing to Egypt metals from the mines of Corsica, Spain, and North Africa, and, perhaps, even of England. The indications of extensive foreign traffic and great internal prosperity in the kingdom of the Delta at this period, which we discover in the text now before us, are at least equally important, as evidences of the truth of the Scripture narrative of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt.

The following columns of this voluminous inscription speak in like manner of the pious care and forethought of THOTHMOSIS, in providing most amply for

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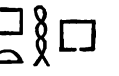
the honour and worship both of his earthly father, and of his heavenly father, Amun. So extensive were his contributions and impositions on the rest of Egypt for the maintenance of the temple, that, besides being recorded upon the walls, the memory of them was perpetuated in songs, the singing of which formed a part of the ritual of worship in the temple of Karnak at all the festivals which he had instituted (c. 12).

The death of the father of THOTHMOSIS took place in this his 23rd year (c. 16). On this occasion he directed no fewer than four granite obeliscs to be sculptured in the quarries, for the decoration of the temple of Karnak. He instituted, also, in memory of the same event, four banquets and two symposia. We need scarcely remind the reader how universal was the custom of funeral banquets in the ancient world. The nobles of Memphis came on this mournful occasion to condole with the young king, and to partake of his hospitality (cc. 16, 17). It is very important to observe, that the name of Memphis in this place is its ecclesiastical or sacred name in Egypt  *the house of Phtha* (c. 17). It is certain, from this circumstance, that Memphis was now in the possession of THOTHMOSIS. He had received it as the dower of his wife. At Heliopolis he reigned jointly with the king of Lower Egypt. This it will be remembered was our conjecture at the outset of this inquiry. The present reading confirms it.

Another point, also, of considerable interest appears in the course of this inscription. THOTHMOSIS commenced on the same occasion, the death of his father,

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the Chamber of Kings in this temple, with the contents of which we have already endeavoured to make our readers acquainted, and which has contributed so largely to the illustration of the history of his predecessors (c. 20.) We are informed, that he constructed it for the purpose of presenting offerings of deprecation to the spirits of his ancestors. Our readers need scarcely be reminded, that on the door-posts of the chamber, THOTHMOSIS is represented in the act of doing so.

It is to be hoped that THOTHMOSIS was the son of the first husband of AMENSES his mother, as we have assumed. There is, nevertheless, abundant cause for the apprehension that he was born of incest; and that his father was MESPHRES, who was also his grandfather. This horrid suspicion is excited by erasures of names and other peculiarities on the monuments of this period. If MESPHRES really was living up to the 23rd year of THOTHMOSIS, it will at once be perceived how difficult it is to disentangle the actual lapse of time during this epoch from the mesh of co-regencies in which it is enveloped.

It appears from the succeeding columns of the inscription before us that THOTHMOSIS, in the several banquets and symposia, and in the various festivals named in the course of it, especially worshipped the spirits of his father, of his ancestors as set forth in the Chamber of Kings, and of his spiritual protogenitor Amun, at Karnak (cc. 23—29). The summation of the whole of his offerings concludes the inscription. The number of meat and drink offerings presented by THOTHMOSIS in his 23rd year amounted to 3605, that

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is, to ten daily, with one for each of the days of the epact. By this we are to understand that ten tables of prothesis were decored and set forth before ten shrines in the temple of Karnak on every day in the year, and one on each of the intercalary days, from the offerings and endowments bequeathed to it in this document. It was probably the great number of religious rites, which occupied the five days at the end of the year, that rendered a greater prescription than the one appointed impossible. The enumeration of the supplies for this enormous ritual is so much mutilated, that no instruction would be conveyed by the translation of the fragments that alone remain of it. The valuation of it is also rendered unsatisfactory by our inability to compare it with modern standards of value. It amounts to five measures of pearls, 236 *heavy ingots* [?] of gold, 58 *bars* [?] (some lighter weight) twenty-four talents [?] and 562 *talents of silver* .

III. The inscription which stands next in date and place is so exceedingly mutilated, that it is by no means easy to say what its import may have been.* It consists of sixty-seven short columns (about four feet high) of hieroglyphics. The mutilation is principally at the bottom. The first date that occurs is the 8th month (Pharmouthi) of the 22nd year of THOTHMOSIS (c. 6). This was most probably the time of his return from the foreign Northern Expedition, commemorated in the first inscription.† On this occasion he was invested

* Abt. iii. Bl. 31 b. † Above, p. 216.

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by the king of the Delta, his future connection, with some high office in his dominions, the symbol or standard of which is unhappily broken off from the end of the line: .. *bearer** [in the] *lion-land* [city]† (c. 7). We find in the fragment of the next column (8), that in virtue of this appointment, THOTHMOSIS "enlarged the borders of Egypt." We have already noticed the same expression connected with the same locality: so that our proof, that "the lion-land," or Avaris, is the Delta, is hereby rendered nearly complete. The next legible passage, however, still more strongly confirms it.

The tribute or spoil was collected at , a name with which the inscription of the prince Amosis, at Eilethya, had already made us familiar.‡ We have translated it "the garden-quarter of Henes," or Sebennytus, in the Eastern Delta. The same fact is expressly declared in the place before us. Hen or Hanes is said *to lie* (Copt. ca†, "lie

* The young unfledged crane or stork is used initially to denote "the bearer" of a standard, of a sceptre, or any other ensign of office. This use has probably arisen from the circumstance, that the parent-birds of this kind may often be seen in the breeding season flying with their young in their bills, or between their feet, to convey them to places of security.

† It is not easy to ascertain the distinction between the cake. ωκ, BAKI, "a city," and the commoner determinative of the names of places, "the mountain." They seem to interchange with each other rather for pictorial effect, than on account of any difference of meaning.

‡ Above, p. 164.

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down") *towards*, "at the beginning," *of* "the land of *ăăre-tho*," which is the phonetic transcription of *Avaris*, the primitive name of the Delta. It is so written here, instead of with the lion, only for the convenience of filling up the column.* The whole fragment (cc. 12, 13) reads thus: "to the stronghold of Hanes, which lies on the border of Avaris, were brought the spoils [goods] of the cities [seats] of the land, and stored [or embarked] there for the king." Our examination, therefore, of these fragments has afforded us much valuable information, though it has not given us any clear conception of its import. We gather from it, that THOTHMOSIS was presented with some district or tax in the Delta, the produce of which he brought to Sebennytus and embarked on the Nile for Thebes.

The transaction, the narrative of which immediately follows, is dated the 4th of Mesore (the 12th month), in the 23rd year of THOTHMOSIS. On that day all the ceremonies of his coronation were completed in the city of *Hermopolis parva* , which is in the Western Delta† (c. 14). The mode of writing this name [*ar-tt*] i.e. "the city of Thoth," shows

* The last syllable in this name, *tho*, is most probably the grammatical affix of the Hebrew, הֹ, which, thus united with the name of a place, signifies motion towards it.

† The name *Thothmosis* had doubtless been assumed by his ancestors on some occasion connected with this locality; possibly, the founding of Hermopolis Magna, in Middle Egypt.

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at once that this city also was subject to the king of Lower Egypt.*

On the 5th day of the same month (c. 15) THOTHMOSIS went forth from that city to tranquillize, by chastisement or victory, some locality whose name is erased, also (c. 16) "to watch over the fulfilment of the words [stipulations] of this twice-smitten evil race, and thereby to enlarge (c. 17) the borders of Egypt according to the command of his father, Amun-re, the tranquillizer, the victorious (c. 18), who leads into captivity [his enemies]."

In the same year, on the 16th of the same month, he attacked a city, the name of which is thus written: *Ham.* We believe this to be *Peramoun* in the Delta.† Its name is thus disguised because it was not in the hands of THOTHMOSIS. "And he commanded (c. 19) his victorious soldiers to assault the gate, and to call upon this fallen race to .... [*erased*] (c. 20) of Chadasha.‡ Then the king marched and entered into Migdol [*mkto*]" . This is the Hebrew, מגדל, and the Coptic, ⲙⲁⲅⲇⲱⲗ, "a tower." We shall find, that it was a common appellative of all the frontier fortresses on the north-east border of Egypt, which were very numerous. It seems especially to have been applied to the strongholds on the sea-coast.

(c. 21). "At this time he gathered together unto him all the chiefs of the land" ..... (c. 22). "From all the waters of Egypt, even unto the borders of Naha-

* *Infra*, p. 262. † See Map, vol. i. p. 230.

‡ A city in the desert of Suez. Its position we will hereafter endeavour to ascertain.

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rain" ..... (c. 23). "The bondslaves of Tyre, and the bondslaves of Heth, their horses and their warriors" ..... (c. 24). "That he might say unto them, 'I have cast you down by my victories'" ..... (c. 25). "At Migdol. Speak ye, therefore, unto me, the king" ..... (c. 26). "They said unto his majesty all of them, 'Like a sun-god thou comest ..... (c. 27). Strew ye with flowers this evil way [that is, this way through a country that did not belong to him] whereon he travels'" ..... (c. 28). "Spoken were these words of the bondslaves as they stood before his majesty" ..... (c. 29). "The ways are many, that behold a horse cannot pass along them" ..... (c. 30). "The generations of men are like unto nothing [before him]" ..... (c. 31). "They that would contend with him are as nothing. He makes for himself a broad path (c. 32) through this great land of Avaris. None contend against him, because ..... the broad paths wherein he marches" (c. 33). "He is the first to make plain the paths through it [Avaris]" ..... (c. 34). "This great city of *Ako*."

This is most probably the city called at this day Alkam. It is situated on the Canopic or western branch of the Nile.* It was the road made by THOTHMOSIS across the Delta, from east to west, that was commemorated in the obscure passages that precede.

"Moreover" ..... (c. 35). "We went forth the way of the north unto Siuph" *tsfut*.

This city was also on the Canopic branch, and to the northward of Ako or Alkam. †

* Champollion, *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 246. † Idem, p. 220.

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(c. 36). "A sun-god he went forth, even our lord the king. Before his face our hearts [trembled]" (c. 37). "Let us go forth to make the ways [even unto] the borders, place thou" ..... (c. 38). "The boundaries ..... by smiting" ..... (c. 39). "The chief of *Lower* *Egypt* [probably the king of the Delta] spake unto them the words of his majesty in *the inner house of his presence*" ..... (c. 40). "'I am the friend of the sun, Phre [the god of Lower Egypt]. I celebrate in songs my father, Amun [the god of Upper Egypt]. I am his offspring (c. 41). From him is my pure life; I command you to make plain this great path (c. 42) through the land of Avaris, that I may march through your country along these [paths] (c. 43) that ye have made plain. Ye are commanded, go ye (c. 44), with you is this service of his majesty, also with them, even with these (c. 45) the smitten ones, hateful to Phre [the god of Lower Egypt]; them his majesty commands (c. 46) also. Make ye plain here a path for our footsteps, and for theirs also [the army]'" (c. 47). "They reply to his majesty, 'Perfect is thy father, Amun, the lord of the three capitals of both Egypts in Thebes (c. 48). Let us serve thy majesty'" ..... (c. 49). "Behold the carved work of the gate" [is completed] ..... (c. 50). "Before the face of the warriors; therefore" ..... (c. 51) "made plain is the way of Amun" (c. 52). "Let me live through thy word" ..... (c. 53). "The governor of Lower Egypt and his majesty ..... (c. 54) going forth to command his warriors himself" ..... (c. 55) "in marching, that a horse

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might travel through on his highway .... (c. 54) with these soldiers."

These disjointed fragments of a composition, in itself most verbose and obscure, seem to convey the following facts:—On the 16th of Mesore, in the 23rd year of his reign, THOTHMOSIS was at Peramoun, and received an embassy of congratulation, with presents, from Chadasha in the desert. The ambassadors had proceeded thither from one of the frontier fortresses (Migdol), where, probably, they had left their present, borne, as it would appear, by Tyrian and Hittite slaves and horses.* It seems pretty certain that there were no great number of either. Had this been the case, the enumeration would have been given. THOTHMOSIS, however, discovered that the roads across the Delta were in such a state, and so intersected with canals of irrigation, that horses could not travel on them. He therefore directed that a highway should be made, that horses might travel upon, from Peramoun to Alkam and Siuph, on the western branch of the Nile, where probably his flotilla lay at anchor. The soldiers, assisted by slaves brought from Canaan, were set to work for the performance of this service.

Decidedly as this explanation gives to the entire document the air of "much ado about nothing" (which is the general character of these inscriptions), it, nevertheless, affords an important verification of our reading of the present text. Herodotus informs us† that the Delta was intersected everywhere with horse-roads; and

* If, indeed, the ambassadors themselves be not thus designated.

† ii. c. 108.

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that it was renowned throughout the ancient world for its adaptation to equestrian exercises and fights with chariots. We find in this inscription the distinct statement, that these horse-roads in the Delta were begun by THOTHMOSIS and the king of Lower Egypt, in the 23rd year of the reign of the former; and that before this time the Delta was impassable for horses, which also became the condition to which it was afterwards again reduced by SESOSTRIS, through the many channels of irrigation which he opened in all directions, as Herodotus goes on to inform us in the same passage. We seem, therefore, to have rightly decided that the lion-land of this inscription is Avaris, or the Delta.

(c. 56). "In the 23rd year [of THOTHMOSIS], on the 19th day of Mesore, the captives were brought (c. 57) to the dwelling of the king in the district or stronghold of Avaris, and he commanded (c. 58) that the slaves of his majesty should be embarked for the abode of his father Amun-re at Thebes" ..... (c. 59) "in the presence of Phre, the god and king."..... .

The remaining lines are too much mutilated to admit of being so connected as to illustrate the import, which in itself is obvious enough. After having passed three days in giving directions for the construction of horse-roads in the Delta, THOTHMOSIS embarked for Thebes, at Heliopolis, certain bondslaves whom he had purchased and devoted to Amun.

The historical truth concealed beneath the pompous words and stilted phrases of this document amounts to this. THOTHMOSIS, while in the Delta, on the occasion perhaps of his marriage, suggested to the Lower

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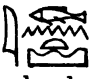
Egyptian king that horse-roads should be made through his dominions for their more effectual defence. The suggestion was adopted; and the armies of Lower Egypt, with the assistance of bondslaves, were set to work at their construction. THOTHMOSIS then sent an offering by water from Heliopolis to the temple of Karnak.

IV. A portion of entirely ruined wall separates the present inscription* from the preceding one, of which the dates show it to be the continuation and sequel.

The first legible column informs us that THOTHMOSIS, having conquered the Nether or Western Avaris with his armies (c. 2), went forth into the Former or Eastern Avaris to dig *fosses*.  There can be no doubt that the horse-roads before mentioned were carried along the mounds thrown out of these ditches (c. 3). They were all dug to one depth, and appear from the following text to have conferred so great a benefit upon the Eastern Delta, that the fame of it reached the other division of the district; and the inhabitants (or the king) of the Western Delta came to solicit him to extend them there also, and offered him the assistance of themselves, their armies, and their bondslaves (cc. 3—8). The inscription then proceeds in the usual strain of rhodomontade (c. 9). "'O king! before whose face no habitation or construction can abide (c. 10), whose eyes are watchful, whose victorious soldiers march behind him, behold I (the king of the Western Delta), (c. 11), come to [do homage] to thee; I go forth to make plain this way.' Then [the

* Abt. iii. Bl. 32.

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king] made the circuit of the land of (c. 12) *Meue* or Hercules (the Sebennyte nome). He approached the southern frontier fortress [Migdol] on the *mound* [*lit.* "rib," Coptic, ⲥⲛⲟⲩ, of the land] *of the canals*, [between] the *canal of the low lands* and *the canal of the high lands.* He was seven hours in making the circuit. On that day was an assemblage ..... [of the inhabitants] before his majesty, to give ..... [presents unto him] and unto his warriors. Because ye feared for your *border* [O, inhabitants], and *prayed* [them]; therefore they [THOTHMOSIS and his army] came to fight with this smitten evil race in *the lucky* *hour* [hour of god]. Then likewise ..... [was brought] (c. 13), an offering of both hands [*i.e.*, an abundant offering], to the presence of the king, made by the chiefs of Lower Egypt, even boat-loads of provisions in requital of our services. [Along with them] *came* (*lit.* came to be beaten, Copt. ⲥⲁϣ), the *cowards* (Copt. ⲍⲣ, 'beware,' 'despise') of soldiers, that is, the Lower Egyptians.* And they said, 'Strongly confirmed are our

* We give this arrogant phraseology at length in order to convey some idea of the general tone of the inscription. The Lower Egyptians are named throughout it *the cowards*, and they never approach the king but to be beaten. Singularly enough, the same

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hearts [literally, the hearts of us cowards]. We have received life from his presence [the king's], who has come among us; therefore it is said unto the king, the produce of the land is thine altogether; and as thou possessest the south, so possess the north likewise.'"

It is scarcely possible for the same number of words to convey a smaller amount of precise knowledge than we obtain from this ridiculous bombast. The king of Lower Egypt seems to have been at war with some of the desert-rangers in the vicinity of Heliopolis. THOTHMOSIS and his *heteri*, or body-guard (this was his army), were present at some trifling action of war, in which the Lower Egyptians gained the advantage. This we believe to be the exploit which is proclaimed in this ostentatious flourish of trumpets. Our reasons for this enormous abatement are, we submit, both obvious and satisfactory. In the first place, no spoils or prisoners are taken in it; but the soldier-cowards bring as an acknowledgment a boat-load of provisions to the victors. THOTHMOSIS and his *braves* being their guests, they could scarcely do less than this. In the next place, the entire affair of which the passage discourses occupied three days only, and a very considerable portion of this interval must have been consumed in the directions concerning the roads, and in the perambulation of the boundaries of the new district acquired by THOTHMOSIS.

phraseology obtains in Egypt at the present day, and every Englishman is there entitled *cowadjee*, that is, "a merchant of the humblest order," "a pedlar," "huckster," or "cadger."

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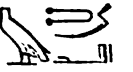
On the 21st of Mesore, in the 23rd year of THOTHMOSIS (which is only three days after the preceding date), was a religious fête, in which certain sacred symbols were placed before the shrine (or image) of Phre, the god of Heliopolis. On this day there seems to have been a review or inspection of the armies of Lower Egypt by THOTHMOSIS; and then we are told that the king went up into his chariot (c. 14), which was encrusted with gold and jewels over the whole of the wood-work, like the chariot of *Hor-Themis*,  the lord almighty, and like the chariot of Monthra [Mars], the lord of the pure western land [the Mendesian nome, or Western Thebes]. Then it is said in the same inflated strain, that the soldiers of his majesty besought him to lead them against the low lands and against the high lands, and that he would complete the conquest of the land to its utmost borders to the north-westward, even as far as the western Migdol, or frontier fortress. Then it is said, that "Amun was in the midst of the king in his vitals and in his limbs. His mouth uttered the command [to advance] ..... (c. 15). His majesty lifted his arm to strike at *her* [the feminine gender used derisively]. The chief of the Lower Country [the king of the Delta] and his armies, they saw the face of his majesty. They were smitten with terror, both he and they.

"Then the king planted his leaguer round Migdol. Before the tramp of his footsteps they fled with their horses and chariots, inlaid with gold and silver, and their embroidered garments, to the stronghold. Then he shut them and their families in this fort ..... (c. 16).

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Their embroidered garments they cast over the walls of the fort [to the beseigers].

"Then they implored that the warriors of the king would not do that which was in their hearts [to slay them] but that they would make captives of all these smitten ones, who were in Migdol, even all of them. Then fled this wicked race of fallen ones to Chadasha,* even the wicked of the fallen ones of this fort; but many were made prisoners, and brought into the fort [which was of course now taken], and laid down beneath the feet of his majesty ..... The fire of the *gods of Upper Egypt* † (c. 17) had consumed them. Their horses and their chariots, inlaid with gold and silver, were taken captive, and led in triumph ..... Their men of high degree and their men of low degree were like unto fishes in the corners of the net. The king and his army achieved the victory; then [the captives and spoil] were numbered, that they might be brought into the presence [*lit.*, shadow] of the king ..... (c. 18) ..... [*a large mutilation*] from the soldiers, because he had saved them, that they might rejoice ..... He [the king of Lower Egypt] gave his son ..... to the king, to collect the fruit of his victories. Then they collected their captives, and brought them, and the severed hands of those that were slain, and their horses, and their chariots inlaid with silver and with gold [to Migdol] ..... (c. 19) ..... [*still more extensively mutilated*] The

* This locality was, as we have said (*above* p. 236), in the desert of Suez, and plainly very near the Egyptian frontier.

† Vol. i. p. 142. Ros. x. 7.

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soldiers went full-handed ..... [there was an offering to] Phre on this day, made by all the chiefs of the high lands and the low lands, by the dwellers on the brooks, their embankments, and their sluices. Then the fort was filled with thousands, yea, full was the city of Migdol: he filled it on that day....."

We have translated these fragments at length, that the reader may perceive the nature of the task upon which we are engaged, and the extreme difficulty of eliminating the historical truth from this mass of pompous wordiness. It is an account of the entry of THOTHMOSIS into the district west of Heliopolis, and probably on the brink of the Nile, which had been ceded to him, together with the co-regency of that city, as the dower of his queen, by the king of Lower Egypt. There certainly may have been some resistance on the part of the inhabitants to this arbitrary transfer of their allegiance; but we cannot too plainly express our conviction that such by no means necessarily follows from the boastful phrases of the text. It was evidently an understood canon of these compositions, that every enlargement of the territory of Egypt obtained from another power, should be represented as a foreign conquest. In this case, as in the former one, there are circumstances which cast the strongest possible suspicion upon the historical accuracy of this triumphal ode. The enemy flees without striking a blow. They shut themselves up in a fortress, but throw their properties over the walls to their besiegers to supplicate their mercy. We are then told that some escaped and fled into the wilderness, but that many

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prisoners and much spoil fell into the soldiers' hands. It then appears that the army of THOTHMOSIS liberated their captives, and that the inhabitants of the whole district assembled at Migdol, and celebrated there a religious solemnity to Phre, the god of Heliopolis. We are constrained to infer that all this looks very like a peaceable entry into, and taking possession of, a new district, which lay between Heliopolis and the river, and in which was probably included the site of the modern city of Cairo. That some portion of the inhabitants should be discontented with this arrangement, and clandestinely leave the country, is highly probable. With equal probability we may conjecture that these malcontents would be Israelites, who were not allowed in Upper Egypt the privileges stipulated for them by Joseph during the reign of THOTHMOSIS, but were employed as forced labourers, like other foreigners. This we know on monumental authority. They would most probably flee to the possessions of the king of Lower Egypt in the wilderness of Suez. We are persuaded, from these considerations, that the passage before us implies nothing more than that THOTHMOSIS and his guards entered upon the territory ceded to him by his wife's relative to the westward of Heliopolis, which included, as we have said, some stronghold on the brink of the Nile. We shall find this our view strongly confirmed by the succeeding portions of the inscription.

In c. 20, which is exceedingly mutilated, we find the king *facing* [*lit.* "eye-browing"] the

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mounds (*gtu*, the initial* is a fascine—Copt. σ·ωτ, "a dam or weir," "a fish-pond") with timber, and collecting the tribute of the land.

In c. 21, which is still more mutilated, THOTHMOSIS builds, or directs the building of, the propylon and the adytum of a temple in some city, the name of which is broken off, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Lower Egyptians, and upon which he inscribed his own name. We shall find, presently, that this city is Heliopolis, whereon we have elsewhere explained that the name of THOTHMOSIS is read to this day. It proceeds to inform us that these constructions were built jointly by THOTHMOSIS and by captive Shepherds offered to the king by the race of cowards, that is, by the Lower Egyptians. The same fact is reiterated in c. 22. THOTHMOSIS evidently built his additions to the temple of the sun at Heliopolis conjointly with the king of Lower Egypt.

This duty completed, and the properties required for its completion appropriated, THOTHMOSIS next addresses himself to the portioning out of a still more ample donative to his tutelary god Amun. So large are his draughts upon his new subjects, dictated by his zeal for his god, that they appealed to his mercy against the heavy burdens he was imposing upon them. He listens to their prayer; but even after this abatement, the amount devoted from his new acquisition to the temple of Luxor is incredibly great, and suggests that the same spirit of lying exaggeration pervades the

* Vol. i. pp. 47, 49.

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enumerations as well as the histories; unless, indeed, we read them as the taxing of entire districts, whence the temple dues were assessed. So exceedingly are these lines mutilated, that we can give but a very imperfect sketch of their contents. The following properties were embarked for Thebes (c. 25): "living captives [Canaanites and Israelites] 340, hands [for ransom] 83, horses 2041, colts 191 (c. 26), war-chariots of various kinds 924, shields of various kinds 200, bows 502 (c. 27), great cattle 1929, small cattle 20,500. All these entered in by the lower gate of the king into this seat [or residence] of the smitten ones, which is by the great canals of irrigation, even into On [Heliopolis], which is in the impure lion-land [Avaris, or the Delta]." In c. 28, we find that 2503 persons were admitted to ransom, and brought, also, to Heliopolis. We cannot help suspecting that these persons were Israelites resident in the ceded district, and that they were permitted to purchase of THOTHMOSIS the immunities to which by law they were entitled under the sceptre of Lower Egypt. This conjecture is greatly strengthened by the nature of the ransom paid by this troop of persons. It consists of jewels, of silver, and of vases of various materials. One of these is of considerable interest; it is written thus: *i. e.*, "great water vessels, the work of Tyre." The value of these vases is put down at 1784 ingots of gold, and 963 ingots of silver.

The name of the contributors of another great item in this catalogue of properties has perished. We may,

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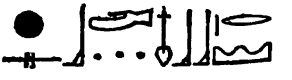
with probability, suppose it to have been the contribution of the Hermonites, or Phenician settlers in Egypt. It consisted chiefly of cabinet work. "Six great tables of prothesis, inlaid with gold, with jewels, with variegated woods, and with ivory, and made of the wood of the acacia-tree" [the shittim wood of the Bible]. Besides furniture, the same tributaries also supplied "workmen skilled in making mummy-cases, and overlaying them with gold and silver." All these contributions were brought to the presence of the king in the palace of *Heliopolis* (c. 31). This transcription of the sacred name of this city in its ordinary form justifies, we submit, our detection of it elsewhere under its Canaanite disguise, and also the correctness of our interpretation of the whole of this range of inscriptions.

The next property enumerated is of a much more weighty character. It was brought to the western Migdol, which we assume to have been the port on the Nile of Heliopolis. It consisted of 128,200 [*mutilated*] measures of corn, which were brought thither by captives, as the land-tribute and the water-tribute of the acquired territory. From the next column (32), which is more mutilated than any that has gone before it, we find that the chiefs of Arvad [that is, the king of Lower Egypt], engaged to pay this tribute to the king of the south, that is, THOTHMOSIS and his successors, for forty years. Some small additions to this tribute, probably in the way of personal presents, introduce one item of great interest, "good bronze of the land of 

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Babel."* It appears from hence that Babylon was famed in the ancient world for the smelting and alloy of metals. These were, doubtless, brought to Egypt by the Phenician traders, the Hermonites of the inscription. The very great abundance of vessels and utensils in bronze which have recently been discovered on the site of Babylon by Dr. Layard, is a circumstance which strongly supports the same fact. The mention of the bronze† of Babylon again in a subsequent part of this series of inscriptions renders it certain that the metals prepared there enjoyed a high reputation in Egypt, where they were used for making scymetars and other weapons of war.

In c. 33 is the first remaining portion of the specification of the last and greatest property enumerated in this part of the inscription. It is not the commencement of the passage. That has been broken off at the end of the preceding line. The column itself is also broken into mere fragments by fractures throughout its whole extent. Notwithstanding, an im-

* The same entry occurs again in a later portion of the series. The granite on which it was inscribed was brought to Europe thirty years ago. S. Birch, Esq., of the British Museum, was the first to read there the hieroglyphic name of Babylon.

† The metal thus named (*chsbt*) was certainly a mixed metal. Several kinds of it are specified in the place before us. Its name is allied to several words denoting metals in the ancient languages (*e.g.* καττίτερος, בדיל, &c.). Or it may have been a compound of the Coptic words ϩOCI, "to work," and BHT, "a stick," "rib," or "bar," which was made the Egyptian name of the metal, because in that form it was generally brought thither from Babylon. We believe it to be the bronze of the Greeks and Romans.

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portant particular, both for the intelligence of the whole inscription and for the verification of our reading of it, is still legible. The contribution is said to be "*the tribute* of the chiefs *of Arvad, even of the daughter of this coward chief*," i.e., Lower Egypt. The enumeration that follows is so mutilated that it is vain to attempt its analysis. Enough, however, remains to show that the properties were of a more costly and precious character than any that went before. We infer from hence that the personal property of the queen of THOTHMOSIS is here enumerated. From many previous indications, we had already assumed her to be allied to the king of Lower Egypt. The fact that she was so is distinctly stated in this passage before us.

The one fact of history which we can collect from the mutilations of the remaining five columns of the inscription is, that THOTHMOSIS, having completed the perambulation of his newly-acquired territory, returned to his palace with the whole of the tribute, wherewith the chiefs of Arvad propitiated his mercy, on the first day of the 24th year of his reign. It is far from improbable, that on this day he may have embarked with his queen to return to Upper Egypt (c. 36). But the whole of the wall which bore the conclusion of this inscription has perished, except a fragment or two at the top, where a few of the phrases at the beginning of each column are still legible.

V. The inscription in this series next in order was written upon the block of granite which was removed from its place in the ruins of Karnak many years ago,

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and brought to Europe for sale. It is known in the trade as the Granite Sanctuary of Karnak. We need scarcely say that it has been grievously mutilated itself in undergoing this barbarous process, and that the mutilations at the end of the foregoing inscription, as well as those we shall presently have to mourn over in the inscription that once continued it, are both the results of the violence which was required to tear this mass from the wall in which it was engaged. This disgustingly selfish procedure has occasioned a gap in the monumental history of the times before us, which there is no present hope of our ever being able to fill up from any other quarter.

The first of these great gaps includes no fewer than five years of time, and more than thirty columns of hieroglyphics, on a very moderate calculation. The mutilation at the other end is still more extensive. Four years have again disappeared from the reign of THOTHMOSIS: then a few fragments of columns hint at the transactions in his 38th and 39th years.* The whole of the termination of his reign has disappeared. It may somewhat mitigate our regret at this wanton and irreparable destruction, when we discover that the history in the remaining fragments is contained in a very small portion of them, and they are principally catalogues of the properties devoted to the temple of Karnak during the successive years of the reign of THOTHMOSIS.

* Leps. Abt. iii. bl. 32 a.

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The Granite Sanctuary of Karnak.

This epithet, which is by no means either happy or distinctive, is applied by the dealers in curiosities from Egypt to the fragment from the wall of the temple, on which is written the portion of this series of inscriptions which follows next in the order of time. It consists of several fragments of what has once been a superb mass of red granite of enormous dimensions, bearing the name of Thothmosis, and entirely covered with the columns of a long legend in hieroglyphics. As we have said, it has long since been removed from its place, to the still further dilapidation of the surrounding ruin, and transferred to the Louvre at Paris, in the *magasin* of which collection, it lies unseen and forgotten to this day. To Richard Lepsius we are once more indebted for a careful and accurate copy of the inscription which covers this monument. The analysis of this text we give after a very careful and attentive study. It is painful to have to observe that our conclusions regarding it will differ from those of one of the most eminent and successful of the students of our uninviting subject. If, therefore, we go into more minute detail than hitherto, and even occasionally fatigue our readers with verbal criticisms, our apology must be that we feel it needful fully to explain our interpretations, when we have against us so high an authority as that of Samuel Birch.

This great tablet is a history of the contributions of Thothmosis to the temple of Karnak in the years

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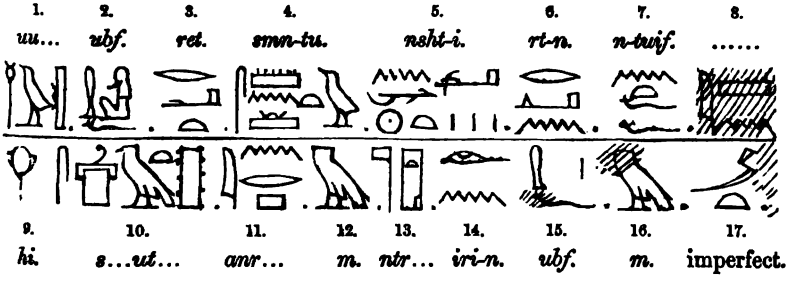
between the 29th and 35th of his reign, both inclusive. It also embodies a few historical notices connected with them which are of great importance. Here again we have to complain of hopeless mutilation. The 55 vertical columns of hieroglyphics that remain are but a small portion of the entire record, and of them there is not a single one from which the greater part has not been broken away at the bottom. Happily, the commencement of the title or introduction to the whole remains. It is a horizontal column of hieroglyphics, which runs along the entire surface of the granite, immediately over the body of the inscription. A broad list, with the titles of THOTHMOSIS in large hieroglyphics, originally crowned the whole. This title or introduction is the only one that remains to us in the whole series. It formally states the purport of the inscription it accompanies. Its importance, therefore, will excuse quoting it here, and giving its analysis.



Group 1. *uu*, "the record." (Coptic, ογω, "message," "report," "news.")

Group 2. *ubf*, "[of] his majesty" (*Rosetta*, IX. 15).

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Group 3. *ret*, "how." (Coptic, ⲣⲏⲧⲉ, "manner," "mode;" ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲏⲧⲉ, "how," "as if.")

Group 4. *smn*, "occurred," "took place." (Coptic, ⲥⲙⲛ, "dispose," "order;" *tu*, participial afformant.)*

Group 5. *nsht-i*, "the victories."†

Group 6. *r* (Coptic, ⲉⲣⲉ), commencing particle;‡ *t*, "devoted" (Coptic, ⲧⲁϯ, the same); *n*, "to."

Group 7. *n-tuif*, "his father" (*Ros.* X. 32).

Group 8. This has doubtless been the name of *Amun*, which was erased or mutilated everywhere throughout the temple at a subsequent period.

Group 9. *hi*, "upon" (*Ros.* IX. 2).

Group 10. *s-ut*...., "a shrine constructed." The second character we have found to be a sluice or floodgate. It seems here to denote "close," "closure," and initially the letter *s*. The crotchet interprets it. With the other two characters it reads *sbt* (Copt. ⲥⲃⲧ), "a wall." The last character is the ground-plot of the brick wall, which formed the enclosure or precinct of every temple in Egypt. It is the determinative of the group, which, with different phonetics, is of not uncommon occurrence.

Group 11. *anr*, "[of] stone" (*Ros.* IX. 29).

Group 12. *m*, "in" (*Ros. passim*).

Group 13. *ntr*, "the temple" (*Idem*).

Group 14. *iri*, "completed; *n*, "by" (*Idem*).

Group 15. *ubf*, "his majesty" (as before).

Group 16. *m*, "in."

The rest is mutilated.

* Vol. i. p. 103. † *Idem*, p. 101. ‡ *Idem*, p. 93.

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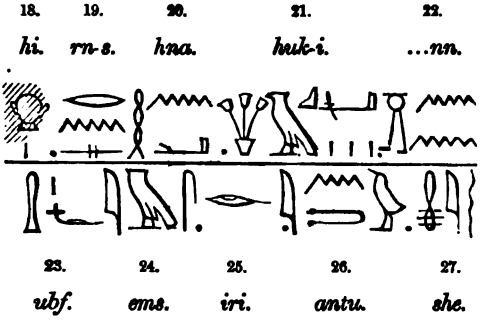
After a long mutilation, nearly equal to the passage we have already quoted, the title before us proceeds as follows:



Group 18, in; 19, her name; 20, with; 21, captives; 22, brought; 23, his majesty; 24, to her; 25, make; 26, they; 27, likewise; *i.e.*, "*they complete in her name with captives brought to her by his majesty* [THOTHMOSIS] *likewise.*" The rest is broken off.

As the name of AMENSES, the mother of THOTHMOSIS, appears on every part of the walls of the ruins whence the monument before us was removed, it does not admit of a doubt that AMENSES was living and on the throne in the 35th year of the age and reign of her son THOTHMOSIS; for this date appears in the inscription below. This is a most important fact for the chronology of the epoch before us.

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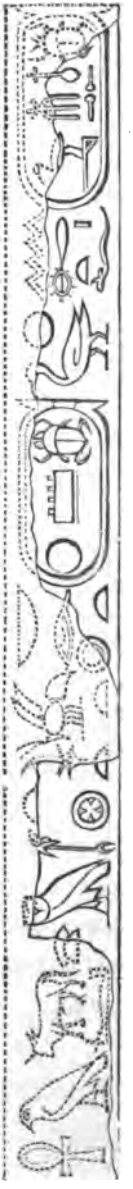
The name and titles of THOTHMOSIS stood as follows. We give them with the restorations of Lepsius.



"Living powerful hawk in the land of Monthra. The king, the lord omnipotent (*ra-mn-chru*), sun of firm constructions. Son of the sun, of his paternity (THOTHMES *nefri-chru*), born of Thoth, whose constructions are beautiful."

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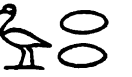
COLUMN 1. "*In his 29th year;*" then "*the king was in the ..... land, for the purpose of troubling* [*making war upon*] *the impure. Five troops or cohorts* [*of soldiers*] *were sent forth by him; then he captured the city or fort of ....*" All the rest of the line has been broken off.

There is an important circumstance connected with this column of hieroglyphics which must not be forgotten. It is the absolute and *bonâ fide* commencement of this inscription.

The mutilations which unfortunately occur everywhere leave us ignorant of more than that, in the 29th year of his age and reign, THOTHMOSIS invaded with five legions a nameless land, for the purpose of making war upon the impure (*i.e.*, persons who were of a different religion from himself) that inhabited it, and attacked a nameless fortress or city.

COLUMN 2 is mutilated at the commencement. The legible part informs us that "*the victories achieved* [?] *by his son were good or pleasant to the heart of the king in all things. His majesty had before commanded vases of libation, such as* [ret., Copt. ⲡⲏⲧ, "kind"] *are prescribed for the religious assemblies at Ghizeh,**  *bulls, cows, geese .....*" From hence to the end of the line, all is destroyed.

The few grains of history embodied in this fragment are worth gathering up. The tone of it is decidedly more warlike than that of the previous inscriptions. It is not a mere gathering of spoil, like the former ones, which renders the reality of their testimony more

* This is the hieroglyphic name for the Great Pyramid.

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than doubtful. On the other hand, here are five troops of soldiers sent (victorious, of course, in these inscriptions) to take a hostile city. The king's son, also, pleases his father greatly, doubtless by some exploit in war. This precocious hero could not be more than four or five years old; but we have seen long ago at what a very tender age the kings of Egypt began to command armies and to achieve victories, according to the archives of the priests.*

The war concluded, a religious assembly was held at Ghizeh, which is, as we have often explained, the site of the Great Pyramid, and the northern extremity of the cemetery of Memphis. There can be no doubt that the immediate neighbourhood of this locality was the seat of the war, and therefore that once more the subject of this boastful strain was a civil war.

The fragment of the next column completely verifies this indication.

COLUMN 3. "*We raise up these fallen ones of the land of Noph,* . *The tribute of the commander of this fortress* *was* 329 [*rings*]; viz., *rings of solid silver* 100, *rings of gold* 100, *bars of wrought metal, and vessels of copper, and of bronze, and of iron. These are embarked on a vessel.*" All again to the end of the line is mutilated.

A very important fact is conveyed by this fragment. Memphis is once more in the hands of the enemy. Not only does the mode of writing the name tell this fact unmistakably, but the context is just as explicit.

* Vol. i. pp. 52, 57.

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It seems to imply that THOTHMOSIS had friends and partizans in Memphis. We quote here the entire sentence. The importance of the history contained in it renders this necessary.

We raise up fallen these [in] Nph.

The word *Noph* (נף) has already occurred in the course of this series. It will not be altogether unknown to the English reader, as the Scripture name of a city of Egypt. It has long been familiar to scholars as the Hebrew name for Memphis. Champollion was the first to point out its derivation from the vulgar or trivial name of this city, which so frequently occurs in hieroglyphics, * *mn-nfr* or *nuf*; for ⲛⲟⲩϥⲣ and ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ equally mean "good" in the Coptic texts; the final *r* being elided as usual. *Noph*, then, is the abbreviation of the trivial name of Memphis, *mn-nuf*, whereby that city was known to the inhabitants of Canaan. This appears plainly from the Hebrew Bible. But the Noph of our text is also within the precincts of Egypt, for we have already discovered that one of the actions of this same campaign took place at Ghizeh, which is a part of the cemetery of Memphis. We infer, therefore, that by the Noph of the inscription before us, we are to understand the city of Memphis, with its surrounding nome or province, which being once more in the possession

* Above, p. 92.

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of the Lower Egyptians, was again branded with its ordinary appellation in the language of Canaan. This name, it is needful to explain, was identical in meaning, as well as in sound, with the Egyptian word whence it was derived; for נוֹף, in Hebrew, means "fair," "good," like ⲛⲟⲩϥ in Coptic.

COLUMN 4. "*All the other good things* [*spoils*] *the king had sent in a ship to Upper Egypt* [*the black land*] ..... [*distributing it*] *equitably* [*among the temples*]. *Afterwards his majesty attacked the fort of ar-ttu, and cut off its provisions, and the strength thereof altogether. Then* ....." [a long erasure].

The spoils of the campaign being forwarded to Egypt, THOTHMOSIS makes a successful attack upon another city, the hieroglyphic name of which we have before read *ar-ttu*.* The first syllable, *ar*, is a very common prefix to these hieroglyphic names of foreign cities to the northward. It is the Hebrew word, עִיר, *ar*, "a city," which we have already detected in an exactly similar combination with the Coptic name of one of the cities of the Delta, ⲡⲉⲣⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ.† The second syllable, *ttu*, or *tut*, is evidently a disguised mode of writing the name of the god Thoth; because the city designated is in the hands of a foreign power. It scarcely, therefore, admits of question, that the next warlike exploit of THOTHMOSIS was an attack on Hermopolis, which was situated on the extreme western border of the Delta, and in the vicinity of Alexandria. It is worthy of note, that at this latter city are many well-known memorials of the reign of THOTHMOSIS. It is very

* Above, p. 235. † Vol. i. p. 340.

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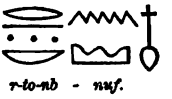
desirable that the ruins of Hermopolis, which are situated in a salt marsh about ten miles S.W. of Alexandria, should be examined also.

The one group that remains unerased of the rest of this column is the name of the Canaanite kingdom of *Heth.* We shall hereafter consider it in its present apparent connection.

COLUMN 5. "*They brought wine to drink, also they brought vessels or jars of sweetmeats. Likewise the soldiers of the body-guard put on board the ships abundance of sweet-scented wood, of incense, and of myrrh. Also they cleared altogether the vines, and brought the fruit to his majesty in .....*"

This passage evidently discourses of some triumph. The tenor of it seems to imply that there were those in the enemies' quarters who rejoiced in the success of Pharaoh. The soldiers are treated with delicacies, and presented with perfumes and with fruits, which they bring unto Pharaoh.

COLUMN 6. "*Incense, jars of dried fruits, honey* 470 *measures, wine* 6428 *measures, iron, lead, wrought metal, beaten work* [?], *oxen* 618, *sheep or goats* 3636, *corn* [lit. '*bread*'], *immense quantities* [*probably any amount that might be demanded*] .....[a long erasure] *for the whole district of Noph ... .*" 

The last three characters, *nuf*, are, we presume, another mode of writing *Noph*, the Canaanitish name for Memphis. The enumeration of properties, therefore, at the commencement of the line is the record of

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the tribute laid by THOTHMOSIS upon the nome of Memphis upon its recapture.

COLUMN 7. "*Every day there were the like panegyrics throughout the land of Egypt.*" With this fragment, the history of the 29th year of THOTHMOSIS concludes. It seems to have been signalized by the recapture of Memphis with great spoil, and by the overthrow of Hermopolis in the Delta. These successes were celebrated in religious festivals throughout Egypt.

COLUMN 7 (continued). "*In his 30th year, then the king was in the land of Arvad* [Lower Egypt], *and he sent forth* six troops of the soldiers† of his majesty, which marched against the stronghold of Chadasha, and smote it, and destroyed the buildings, and hewed down the trees ..... and put a tribute on the plains .... and quarried the mountains. Then they attacked the stronghold of .....*"

COLUMN 8. "*The mercy of the king was extended to* [lit., *came upon*] *the chiefs of Arvad in that year. Then came the children of those chiefs and their brethren, that they might be‡ soldiers in Upper Egypt. Then, forsooth, he who was lord over these ghosts of dead chiefs besought the king to come and dispose of his throne and*

* in col. 1 . Both the determinatives have powers closely allied, and signify "marching" or "travelling." The corresponding Coptic word is ⲟⲩⲱⲧ, "ready," "obedient."

† See col. 1, *lit.*, "of victorious ones."

‡ This word, *nsht*, means "soldier," "winner of victories;" also "troops of soldiers," as well as "victory."

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of his house, and to be in all things the guardian of his children, and to ....."

COLUMN 9. "*Wrought in gold and silver by the labour of forty smiths.*"

This passage suggests the probability that the brother-in-law of THOTHMOSIS, the king of Lower Egypt, was still in the close alliance with him which we found to exist in the former inscriptions. He, as well as the troops of THOTHMOSIS, had suffered by the hostile aggression (from whatever quarter it came), which had wrested Memphis from their joint dominion; and it was doubtless at his instance that the present expedition was undertaken. The invaders, being driven from Memphis in the campaign of the 29th year, appear to have fled to the fortress of Chadasha in the desert. Six troops or cohorts, detached from the armies of Upper and Lower Egypt, followed them thither, sacked that fort, and another the name of which is erased, and returned to Egypt with considerable booty. In requital of these services, the king of Lower Egypt enlarged somewhat the kingly prerogative of THOTHMOSIS at Memphis or Heliopolis, probably at both. The sons of Lower Egypt became officers in the army of THOTHMOSIS; and a superb throne, inlaid with silver and gold, and exercising the long-continued labours of forty artificers, was erected for THOTHMOSIS in the palace of Heliopolis.

Such appears to be the history of the 30th year of the reign and life of THOTHMOSIS, recorded in these obscure fragments.

COLUMN 9 (continued). 31st year. "*On the first*

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three days of the month Epep [the 11th month], *his majesty assembled his captives, and he arose and brought his captives to the stronghold of Athribis, which is upon the borders of the land,* [*and*] *surrounded by a moat, even* 490 *living captives with* ..... [long erasure] *of the smitten race* ..... "

The name of this stronghold has not before been ascertained.

The first character is in our Alphabet.* It is the picture of a terminal mark, and the initial of the word *pne;* in Coptic, ⲡⲛⲉ, "a threshold," "a boundary." It begins thus the hieroglyphic name of another city of Egypt,

which we have found to be *On*, or Heliopolis. This city stood on the eastern confines of Egypt, and therefore it was called *pne-on*, i.e., "border On," or "On, on the border." For exactly the same reason the place denoted by the present group was named *pne-ritb*,† i.e., "Athribi, on the border." It was the city called Athribis by the Greeks, which stood on the same border, to the north-eastward of Heliopolis, on the Phathmetic branch.

nte, "which [is]."

hi, "upon."

spt, "extremity," "outward limit" (Coptic, ⲥⲱⲛ, "angle," "corner"). This group is

* No. 103.

† In the transcription of this name at Medinet Abou, the *t* precedes the *r*. Such changes are very common.

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determined by the picture of an irrigated field, bounded by two channels issuing from the same sluice.

sl (Coptic CA, "wrap," "surround"), "surrounded."

n, "by."

u, "a" (Coptic OY, indefinite article).

she-skr, "a moat," "a foss" (Coptic ϣHI, "a ditch," CKPKP, "to gird," "to surround"). Athribis was situated on the part of the Nile which was nearest to the eastern desert. It was probably the first moated city which the detachment sent against Chadasha would reach on its return. It was therefore the first place at which the pageant described in the two following lines could well have been performed.

COLUMN 10. "*They* [*the Lower Egyptians*] *unite with* [*fear, grovel before*] *the king in the festival of unbarring the gates. All the bars of the gates are withdrawn for the captives of his majesty. Moreover, in that hour, the whole city rejoiced throughout all its borders at the procession of the captives. Then the chiefs of Arvad* [*Lower Egypt*] *brought their tribute,* [*even*] *the riches of their land, to his majesty for that year .....*"

COLUMN 11. "*Together with the timid ones* [*Lower Egypt*], [*enter the city*] *at the festival of withdrawing the bolts, bulls and draught-oxen* 104, *cows and calves* 172, *total* 276; *goats* 4622, *iron of the mountains* 40 *bricks or cubes; lead .....*"

The procession here described, in which THOTHMOSIS entered the city of Athribis, is exactly like those so

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often represented on the walls of the palace of Karnak, and other Egyptian temples.

COLUMN 12. "*With abundance of all the good fruits of that land. Then the whole land of the Shepherds approached his majesty to supplicate him with bread of fine wheat, and with cakes of figs, with incense, with wine and with milk .....*"

The rebels against the king of Lower Egypt are here branded with the epithet which Lower Egypt itself afterwards retained in history, "Shepherds," *mna-tu*, which, as we have seen, is a transcription of the Coptic word, ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, "one who tends flocks and herds," determined by the club, the symbol of impurity, and by the often explained sign of "land," or "city."

The group we have translated, "to supplicate" , *sps* (Coptic ⲥⲉⲡⲥ, "to pray," "to beg"), is determined by the conical cake of incense, which was always held in the hand of him who was supplicating the gods, and the hieroglyphic name of which is written sometimes *seps*, and sometimes *sept*.

COLUMN 13. "(7) *The healthy* (1) *are*, (3) *moreover*, (2) *to* (4) *build* (5) *by contract* (6) *the palace.* (8) *The sick or maimed* (9) *are* [*to lay*] (10) *all their* [*goods in pledge*] (11) *for* (12) *this contract.* (16) *Many* (14) *were* (15) *the maimed* (17) *in their hands*, (18) *on account of that which had been done* (19) *to them*

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(20) *when* (22) *their country* (21) *was taken.*"

This fragment is a part of the treaty concluded by the rebel chiefs at their interview with THOTHMOSIS. The beginning is broken away at the bottom of the preceding column. That the sentence is merely supplementary is shown by the particle *hru* (3), which we elsewhere found to have this power.*

It will be noticed that the entire people of the land is compromised for the fulfilment of this treaty. The able-bodied labourers are to be sent in gangs to the work. The property of the rest of the community was to be taxed for its performance. In fact, the rebel chiefs were to be the tax-collectors and task-masters of Pharaoh, for the building of the palace of Karnak. The bondage of the Israelites in Egypt was of a precisely similar character. The task-masters appointed by Pharaoh were their own chiefs and head men, who were made, by the most rigorous compulsion, the oppressors of their brethren. This coin-

* Vol. i. p. 82.

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21 *mt* overthrowing
22 the country (*lit.* habitation)
23 imperfect.

cidence between the Mosaic narrative and the inscription before us, is well worthy of notice.

There are one or two further particulars in the hieroglyphics of this clause, which will probably be found also to deserve attention.

The palace, doubtless of Karnak, is denoted by the same group that we found translated in the Rosetta inscription, το βασιλικον, "the palace."* We have the same authority for the rendering of the words "the healthy," or "whole." This group also is translated by the word ὑγειαν, "health,"† in that document. It often denotes, "the presence of the king," which, according to this flattery, imparted "health." The position of this word in the sentence before us exemplifies a peculiarity of the syntax of the hieroglyphic writings, of which we likewise found an instance in the Rosetta inscription. We noticed there a considerable departure from the natural arrangement of the words of two clauses of a sentence, in order that the two antagonist epithets, "old" and "new," might occur together.‡ The same inversion has taken place in the fragment before us, for the purpose of making the opposite qualities, "whole" and "sick," immediately to follow one another (Groups 7 and 8).

The word translated "sick" or "maimed," will

* Rosetta II. 8. † *Ibid.* V. 8. ‡ *Ibid.* III. 16, 17.

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require a longer notice than we intended to have given to any single group. The meaning, however, which it seems to us to bear, is of importance enough to justify the explanation.

The name of the local god of Heliopolis reads *atm*. We have found him to be a deification of *Adam*, the father of mankind. The mythic definitions of this divinity are singular. His name is frequently written thus: * *i.e.*, "the double or second Athom;" whereby it would appear, we are to understand that Athom existed both on earth and in heaven. He is also entitled everywhere, "Athom," or "Re-Athom, the father of the gods;" and when the soul in the world of spirits is born of one of the mother-goddesses, it is said to become one of "the descendants (lineage) of the double (or second) Athom for ever."† These remarkable titles seem to have associated Athom with the paternity of the human race in the mythology of Ancient Egypt.

Our inquiry now diverges in another and very different direction. The group before us (8) is, it will be observed, identical in characters with the name Athom. It is a verb or verbal noun of by no means uncommon occurrence, and would seem to be an application of the proper name *atm*, or "Adam," to certain subjects of speech, of which that name was itself suggestive to the inventors of the

* See Todtenbuch, § 3, 1, &c.

† *Id.* § 17, title. Sarcophagus of Nitocris, British Museum, &c.

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language. "To be sick, lame, or halt," was one of them, the equivalent for which still remains in the Coptic texts in the words ⲧⲱⲟⲩ, "lame," blind;" ⲧⲱⲏ, "a mat or couch for the sick." We might also point out other words in the Coptic language which seem to have had their designations from this name. Such are ⲟⲃⲓⲓⲟ, "dust," ⲧⲁⲓⲓⲁ, "to create," and others. The reasons, therefore, which have decided the import of the group before us are very obvious. The inventors of the system knew that Adam's disobedience "brought death into the world with all our woe," and therefore they applied his name to "disease," "infirmity," and "death."

These are but shadows, it is true, but it must be remembered that even a shadow is the indication both of the substance that casts it, and the light beyond which it intercepts. We submit that both are here.

We will only further remark, that it was the analogy of the other names of the greater gods of Ancient Egypt which alone led us to seek for Athom in the name Adam; and that we did not at all consider in so interpreting it, that the beatified spirits in the next world were called the children of the second Athom; and that the name itself is associated with so many of the peculiar qualities of the first father of mankind in both transcriptions of the language of Ancient Egypt.

One of the customs peculiar to the remote age of the world of which we are treating, is also hinted at in the fragment before us. The expression, "many were the maimed in their hands on account of that

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which had been done to them when their country was taken," tells very plainly of the fearful usages of war that prevailed in the days of THOTHMOSIS, and long afterwards. The revolting cruelties to which prisoners of war of all ranks and degrees were exposed in these ages, justify the rigorous decree which commanded Joshua to put all the Canaanites to the sword, as, on the whole, an act of humanity.

32nd year. The inscription is now becoming, unhappily, still more disjointed. The transactions we have just related, as well as those which follow next in order, are without date.

The record of the commencement of the 32nd year of THOTHMOSIS has perished; a circumstance which involves in great obscurity the whole of this part of the inscription.

The 14th, 15th, and 16th columns are principally occupied with the enumeration of the spoils brought to Egypt, and the tribute imposed upon the conquered countries. The spoils were "corn in abundance, timber, cakes of figs, jars of wine." These were borne by captives (cc. 14, 15). The tribute imposed in the 32nd year consisted of 343 great cattle, brought to Egypt in boats, the boats themselves to be built by the captives (c. 16). Ebony and ivory, in pieces of prescribed measure, are also mentioned before the mutilation occurs at the end of column 16. In column 17, the king commands the conquered country to bring their tribute in boats built by themselves, and that the boats, as well as their contents, shall likewise be part of the payment.

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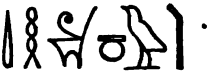
COLUMN 17 (continued). 33rd year. "*In his 33rd year, the king was in the land of Arvad .....*"

COLUMN 18. "*King* MESPHRES. *Then the king brought all the prisoners from the plunder of the forts and the plunder of the lands of Heth, even the smitten of the land of Naharain .....*"

The broken sentence which begins this last fragment may possibly have related to the completion by THOTHMOSIS of some work begun by his grandfather and father MESPHRES. The prisoners named in the other part were probably employed upon it. The name of their country will require our attention; *htu.* We see no reason to doubt that this is another mode of writing the name of a tribe of Canaanites, written here and elsewhere on the walls of the palace of Karnak with the following varieties of homophons.

The inhabitants of this land are named in the same texts, *th-n*  . We long ago hazarded the suggestion, which we now see no reason to modify, that Heth and the Hittites are meant by these groups of hieroglyphics. Probably these were slaves imported from Canaan; they are therefore said to be from Naharain, which is used, in these inscriptions, as the generic name for all countries over the north-eastern boundary of Egypt.

COLUMN 19. "*To him leading ..... also shepherds' dogs ..... his [or their] land; then the horses .....*"

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The dogs mentioned here were either shepherds' dogs, or dogs for hunting the gazelle. It is uncertain which.

COLUMN 20. "..... *maid-servants* 30, *men-servants* [lit., *men of the fist, men grasped by the hair, prisoners of war*] 80, *men and women to be ransomed with their children* 606. *The women were collected.*"

This looks like the surprise and capture of a caravan of Hittites in the desert of Suez, who were admitted to ransom.

COLUMN 21. "..... [*of*] *the city of Nineveh. All this* [*spoil*] *the king brought, and embarked in ships on the Nile* [*after*] *he had planted* [*or set up*] *his tablets* [*of separation or appropriation*] *in Naharain, to enlarge the borders of Egypt* ....."

It is to be regretted that the production from the well-known city of Nineveh has disappeared. We have already found, and shall soon find again, that Babylon was celebrated for the founding of bronze.

The remainder of this fragment is very important to decide the sense in which Naharain is used in these inscriptions. We have often explained this sense to be indefinite, and to apply to all districts whatever without the north-eastern border of Egypt. We have here the full confirmation of this reading. THOTHMOSIS brings his spoil to embark on the Nile, and then sets up *his tablets of separation*,* dividing a portion of

* *uuf* (Copt. ⲟⲩⲱ, ⲟⲩⲟϯ, "to separate"). These tablets were terminal marks, set up by the victor or acquirer of a district without the bounds of

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territory from Naharain, and adding it to Egypt. Evidently, therefore, the two countries bordered on each other, and were in the vicinity of the Nile. This, we presume, is undeniable; so that by Naharain the desert of Suez must here be understood.

It is of great importance to the reading of these inscriptions, that this point should be well understood. The strong proof to be derived from it, that the first settlers came from Naharain, and therefore applied the name to the whole region in the direction of their first journey from thence, will probably also interest some of our readers.

COLUMN 22. "*.....men and women for ransom* 513, *horses* 260, *gold in solid rings* 85, *in ingots* 9, *silver and gold vessels of the fabric of the land of Heth* ....."

The land of Heth is here celebrated for the manufacture of gold and silver vessels. We are not aware that this ancient fact is supported by any other authority.

COLUMN 23. "*.....calves and draught oxen* 28, *great cattle* 564, *goats* 5323, *incense* 828 *measures, cakes of figs* ....."

COLUMN 24. "*..... those of the land of the Shepherds who had petitioned that in all things according to their prayer their yearly tribute should be according to their means. Also, the artificers of Hermon [Phenicians]*

Egypt. They were set up by Nahrai and his family on the lands they reclaimed on both boundaries; *e.g.*, "he set up a tablet on the south, he sculptured two to the northward" (cc. 32, 33). The tablets on the rocks of the Wady Meghara are of the same character.

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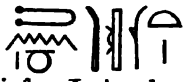
that their yearly tribute should be according to their means. Also, the chiefs of Hermon ....."

The actual spoil of the expedition was the subject of the former line. In the column before us we have the settlement of the yearly tribute which the conquered city or district was to remit to Egypt.

The word we translate "shepherds," is identical with that we so translate in column 12. There is but one other word which will require any notice.



tnn, determined by the finger or club, the sign of barbarism or misbelief. It is the Coptic word, ⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩ, "to drive," "to wrest by force." It evidently means the forced levy ("tribute") imposed upon a conquered nation. The palm branch with the sign of symbolism means, we need not say, "annual."

The Phenician settlers of the ceded or conquered district, we find to be put to tribute by THOTHMOSIS, as foreigners. There is every probability that the Israelites would be included in the epithet Hermonites, together with all other foreigners in the portion of the Delta, that on this occasion fell to Upper Egypt.

COLUMN 25. "..... *to your land. Then the chiefs brought into the city of San* [*Tanis*], *in Lower Egypt, bronze in bars* [number broken off], *bronze in solid rings* 24, *bronze of the land of Babel .....*"

The proper names in this column will require notice.

This group is the disguised transcription of the name of the city of *Tanis*. We have often explained, that when the name

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is thus transcribed, it always denotes that the place is in possession of some foreign power. The two last characters read *kri*, and mean the "lower" or "northern gate" ["border"]. The name of the locality is embodied in the two first characters *s-n*, in which there is no difficulty in recognizing the name of the city of Tanis; the צען, *Zoan* of the Hebrew Bible, and the ϫⲁⲛⲓ* of the Coptic texts. This city is on the extreme north-eastern limit of Egypt, and is therefore termed "northern" or "lower." It is near the sea, and surrounded by low marshy flats. Its trivial name alludes to this circumstance. It is derived from the word ϫⲁⲛⲉ, "low," "depressed." The extent of the vicissitude undergone by the kingdom established by AMOSIS in North Egypt is remarkably illustrated by this transcription. We found the record of the conquest of Tanis, as of Memphis, by him in the tomb of Eilethya. It now plainly appears that both had been wrested from his successors by the kings of the Delta. Memphis may, possibly, have been recovered by THOTHMOSIS by treaty or as the marriage-portion of his queen. But we have seen sufficient evidence of the precarious nature of his tenure of it.† These indications of the great power and vigour of the Xoite kingdom in the Delta at this time, though indirect, are very decided.

Tanis was not finally annexed to the Upper Egyptian dominion until a century afterwards, by SETHOS I. It was now in the possession of the king of the Delta.

* Champollion, *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. ii. p. 108.

† Above, p. 261.

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We have elsewhere noticed the occurrence of the name of Babylon in connection with the manufacture of bronze.

COLUMN 26. "..... 15 *ingots and bars* ..... *of the land. Great was the yearly tribute, even bars of silver,* 8; *wrought rings, solid,* 301; *jasper and marble, great blocks borne* ....."

COLUMN 27. "*Naharain to enlarge the borders of Egypt. Three camels'* [?] *loads were brought to the king from the city of Phenne for this year. Also heavy pearls,* 1684; *gold* ..... "

We venture here to translate "camels," a singular character of not uncommon occurrence. The camel was altogether unclean in Ancient Egypt, and therefore never permitted to cross its borders. The hieroglypts who executed these inscriptions had never seen the animal. The strange grotesque before us we believe to have been the impression carried to Thebes of this unknown beast, by some scribe who had accompanied THOTHMOSIS, and seen the camels that brought this present (or purchase) crouching on the sand.

We long ago identified *Phenne* in hieroglyphics as the city so named in the Greek itineraries, and the Punon of the Hebrew Bible. It was situated in the rocky ravines of Mount Hor, and was celebrated for the mines and quarries in its vicinity. The contribution or purchase, specified in the passage before us, consists, it will be observed, altogether of the produce of such a locality.

COLUMN 28. "*Calves* 114, *bulls* ..... *total of great*

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cattle 419; *brought and embarked in ships of burden, built of fir-wood. Together with all the best produce of the land .....*"

COLUMN 29. *Bulls* 60; *total* 104; *brought and embarked on ships of burden, with all the best produce, for the land-tribute, and for the water-tribute, and for the house-tribute likewise.*"

This sum of the contributions of the 33rd year is far too much mutilated to afford us any clue whatever as to its actual value. Some inconsiderable act of war, and some trifling accession to Egypt from the eastern desert, are the only particulars wherein the record of this year differs from the accounts of former years.

COLUMN 29 (concluded). 34th year. "*In his 34th year; then the king was in the land of Heth .....*"

COLUMN 30. "*The yearly tribute of the captured fortresses. Each fortress* [lit., *fortress with fortress*] *completed the delivery* [*assembly*] *of them in the land of On. The total* [*was*] *captives led with the cord .....*"

The land of Heth was mentioned in the course of the 29th year, in a connection which seemed to indicate that this tribe of the Canaanite confederacy had possessions in the land of Egypt. It would appear that Hermopolis was in the possession of Heth. The passage before us seems to imply that the conquered district of the 33rd year was also theirs. The Canaanite colonists, who settled in the Delta, carefully preserved their national distinctions, and no intermixture took place at this time, either with the other tribes of Canaan or with the Lower Egyptians. They dwelt in separate cities, and remained Hittites and Arvadites in

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Egypt, just the same as on the other side of the desert of Suez. This want of national oneness among the subjects of the Xoite kingdom weakened it and led to its ultimate fall. It is scarcely to be doubted, that in the civil war actually before us, the Hittite subjects of the king of the Delta had revolted and seized upon Memphis. THOTHMOSIS came to the assistance of his relative, and gained some advantages, the spoils of which he devoted to the construction of the palace of Karnak.

The city of Heliopolis was the magazine in which he collected the fruits of the last year's campaign. It lay to the southward of Tanis, and therefore nearer to Thebes. We suspect that the enumeration was repeated at length once more in these boastful and mendacious records. For this reason there is nothing to interest the reader in columns 31 and 32, which merely repeat the counting of the spoil of the preceding year, with the exception of a single passage in the latter fragment, which reads thus: "..... *ebony, acacia wood, knotted or mammellated wood ..... in planks, completed* (i.e., *polished off*), *with great abundance* [lit., *many thousands*] *of planks of timber for building, wrought with tools of metal. Also of polished blocks of egg-shaped jasper* [*pudding-stone?*], *and fair or beautiful wood of every kind* ....."

Very little timber ever grew in the land of Egypt. It seems to have been at all periods an imported and valuable article there. Objects in wood of large dimensions are seldom found among the remains of Egypt. Mummy-cases, even the most elaborately carved and

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painted of them, are merely masses of plaster upon a frame made up of small pieces of wood of irregular shapes, fastened together with wooden pins. Boxes and chests of all sizes, and even large statues, are all constructed in the same manner. Wood was too costly an article in Egypt to be expended in masses upon great objects.

The taste for hard and costly woods for ornamental furniture prevailed in Egypt from a very early period; and painted imitations are of very frequent occurrence in the most ancient tombs of Ghizeh and Sakkarah. It is not, therefore, at all surprising that wood or timber should be one of the contributions or purchases thus specially enumerated in the annals of the temple of Karnak.

We omit the 34th column for the same reason. It merely concludes the repeated enumeration. A single clause only in it will require notice, which reads thus: "*Then all the lords of the Shepherds besought the king that he would accept of all these good things.*"

The word *Shepherds* here is the same as that we have so translated in the 12th column. We long ago stated our conviction that Champollion had rightly thus translated a group with the same sound, but somewhat differently written, which he copied from monuments of a later date. The evidence of this has, however, been deemed insufficient. We therefore feel it incumbent upon us to state here the reasons why we still adhere to his rendering.

The corresponding Coptic word is, as we have said, ⲡⲟⲟⲙⲉ, "shepherd," "cattle-feeder." It is thus

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written twice (lines 12, 34) in the fragments before us. On the monuments of the successors of THOTHMOSIS, the same group is constantly written thus. The only difficulty in either transcription is presented by the characters which determine the groups. The two are identical in meaning, though different in form, and probably in sound also. The determinative of the former is a bundle of straws, reeds, or some similar substance, tied together, and used for the purpose of a float to a fishing-net or line. In the later hieroglyphic texts it is not uncommon as the initial of the syllable *as*, which represented the Egyptian word ⲟⲩⲓⲥ, "to be swollen," "empty," "light." It is used in this group with another meaning. It denotes "a bundle tied together," "a confederacy of evil," for the ideas of "emptiness" and "evil," interchanged in the Egyptian language. The determinative of the latter transcription arrives at the same meaning through a different figure. It is a shuttle with the thread upon it, entangled so as to be useless. With the polisher below it reads *nat*, like the ordinary shuttle,* but with the sense of "to entangle," of which the Coptic equivalent ⲙⲁⲧ is also capable. The two variations of this group have therefore the same import. They mean "the evil confederation of the Shepherds," or "of the lands of the Shepherds."

The land of Canaan appears, from the Bible, to have been inhabited at this time by different tribes or

* Alphabet, No. 92.

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nations, independent of each other in some senses, but of the same race, and often in confederacy. The Egyptian name of the inhabitants of Canaan alludes to this in both its transcriptions.

The wealth specified in the fragments of columns 35, 36, and 37, was brought to Egypt by THOTHMOSIS, and dedicated to the temple of Karnak from the opposite border of his dominions. Cush, in the south, as well as Arvad, in the north, were both laid under contribution by this munificent monarch, for the gorgeous palace of Karnak. The tenor of the inscription renders it probable that a free-will offering from the southern dependencies of Upper Egypt is the subject of the present enumeration.

It is needless to go through it. The tribute of Cush consisted of cattle, metals, and timber. They were brought down the Nile to Karnak in ships built expressly for them, and also dedicated to the temple.

COLUMN 37. 35th year. "*In his 35th year, then the king sent forth ten full or complete cohorts against Heth. Then he approached the city of On. Then assembled there the smitten evil race .....*"

The very uncertain and precarious character of the name of the possessions of the Theban Pharaohs in Lower Egypt, which has already been made so apparent, receives yet another illustration from the present fragment. Heliopolis is once more threatened with a hostile aggression, and the king of Lower Egypt appeals to THOTHMOSIS for help against an enemy in arms. The more extensive character of the expedition, which is the double of that of any former year, suffi-

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ciently indicates the formidable nature of the action of war. The enemy is once more Heth.

COLUMN 38. "..... *from the hinder part* [*extreme borders*] *of the land, many reprobates ..... came to fight with the king. They pitched their* [*camp ?*] ..... *The king was over against them. The army of the king was drawn up in order* [*perfectly*]. *The king sent once to inquire who were these weak ones, and whence they had come to draw down* [*upon themselves*] *chastisement from the sceptre of the king .....*"

The truth is very palpable through all this arrogant phraseology. THOTHMOSIS and his ally and relative were unable to cope with the invaders, and came to a parley with them.

COLUMN 39. "..... *from the waters of Naharain, they had come* (*?*) ..... *the chief of Lower Egypt under his majesty* [i.e., *the king of Lower Egypt*] *overthrew them and cut them to pieces ..... he smote them from flank to flank, they were all in his fist* [*grasp*]. *The king himself came to the rendezvous with the smitten of the waters of Naharain .....*"

The waters of Naharain were, the rivulet which ran into the Mediterranean from the desert of Suez (and which was known to the Hebrews as "the river of Egypt"), and the streams from the Nile, that, diffusing themselves over the eastern desert, fertilized districts out of the bounds of Egypt. These collected together to form what was called by the Greeks the Pelusiac branch.* These we conceive to be included

* From πηλὸς, "mud." The Egyptian name of the city Pelusium, which stood upon it, was ϕαρουε, *i.e.*, "the city of mud." The

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in the expression, "the waters of Naharain." At the period before us, they seem to have been the extreme limit of the personal geographical knowledge of the Egyptians, of the lands to the eastward. Their knowledge advanced gradually with the lapse of time. This we shall also discover.

The rencontre between Lower Egypt and Heth, spoken of in this ridiculous vaunt, seems to have taken place while THOTHMOSIS was at Thebes, receiving the Cushite present. The king of Lower Egypt was defeated, and, in consequence, demanded aid from him.

The issue of the affair to the temple of Karnak is recorded in the two following lines, which are too much mutilated to admit of translation. Enough, however, remains to show that it was of no great value—"10 slaves, 180 horses, 30 chariots" (c. 40), "15 shields covered with the skin of the lion ..... shields of an inferior value, with iron bosses, and 6 bows made of the wood of Tyre" (c. 41), are still legible. In ancient treaties, the victors and the vanquished alike made offerings to the temples of their respective gods. This was probably the offering to Karnak of the victorious Hittites.

Nothing but morsels remain of the 13 columns that fill up the granite now at Paris. The subject was still wars or treaties with Heth, and further offerings to the temple of Karnak, as the issue of them. The subsidy

Arabs call it *Tineh*, "mud," to this day. The hieroglyphic name and primitive history of Pelusium we will endeavour to ascertain hereafter.

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granted to THOTHMOSIS by the king of Lower Egypt for his aid would be an important item in them.

VII. The last inscription* in this wantonly-destroyed series of records of a most ancient period, is so grievously mutilated by the displacement of the preceding fragment, that but little account can be given of it. We merely discover from the ruins that, during the three years that followed the 35th of THOTHMOSIS, the yearly tribute from Cush was paid to the temple of Karnak, and that the troubles in Lower Egypt went on increasing. In one of them, probably the 37th, THOTHMOSIS dispatched 13 cohorts to Heliopolis. This city was obviously in considerable danger. It fell somewhere about this time. It was not in the hands of any of the immediate successors of THOTHMOSIS. The enemy was again Heth. When Lower Egypt is next brought under our notice by these inscriptions, we shall find that Heth has obtained a strong footing there. There appears to have been a pacification in the course of the following year. THOTHMOSIS sent to Thebes a contribution to the temple of Karnak, in ships built at a place called *Ro-she* (c. 7), "the gate [opening] of the two rivers," which can scarcely be any other than the point of division of the two principal mouths of the Nile, the name of which, *Barash*, is so infamous in the history of modern Egypt.† He likewise re-

* Leps. iii. 31 a.

† Vol. i. p. 276. If this name be ancient, ⲡⲉⲣⲁϣ, or without the article ⲣⲁϣ, is identical with the hieroglyphic name. But I suspect that *Barash* is an Arab version of the French *barge*.

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ceived, this year, an embassy from Sais in the western Delta, and from another city named *Ar-rsh*, (c. 8) in which it is not difficult to recognize the ancient name of the city at the mouth of the Bolbatine branch, on which Sais was situate, which is spelt in the Coptic books, ⲣⲁϣⲓⲧ, and in Arabic, *rashid*, or *ar-rashid*.* It is, as we have elsewhere explained, the Rosetta of modern geography. We infer from hence that the settlements of the Hittites in Egypt lay principally in the western Delta.

The pacification was, however, a mere truce. In the 39th of THOTHMOSIS, the war broke out afresh, and THOTHMOSIS aided the king of the Delta with 14 cohorts. Heth, on this occasion, was confederate with the *Shus*, whom we have identified with the *Zuzim* of the Bible; and hope, very shortly, fully to justify the identification.

These, with fragments of lists of contributions, are all the history of this year that is left on the walls of Karnak. With it the whole series ended (cc. 12—14).

Of the vast materials furnished by this series of inscriptions for the elucidation of the condition of the ancient world, of the state of the arts of design and utility, and of the condition of man generally, the limits of our present undertaking do not permit us to take advantage. We have merely to observe, regarding them, that they discourse of a state of society

* Champ. *Eg. sous les Phar.* ii. 241, where he also shows that the last letter, *t*, is a mere grammar form, and that the name of the city was *Rashi*, or *Ar-rashi*.

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closely allied to that shadowed forth in the songs of Homer, and also in another Book, whose testimony to this point is very generally discarded by the deep thinkers of the present day.

The history of Egypt, which we have derived from this same source of knowledge, is the subject which is proper to our investigation. It is important to the highest possible degree. It throws a flood of light upon the obscure fragments of history preserved by the Greeks—it reconciles with them altogether the Bible history of the same period.

We have found that while AMENSES, with her obscure succession of husbands, was reigning at Thebes, and over all Egypt and its dependencies to the southward, a line of ignoble kings were exercising sovereignty in some parts of Middle Egypt, and a powerful and flourishing kingdom had also formed itself under the sceptre of the descendants of ASSES in the Delta. This kingdom was composed of Canaanite immigrants (principally Arvadites and Hittites), of native Egyptians, and of the children of Israel, who were now rapidly multiplying and advancing in property and influence. The Chamber of Karnak has told us that Memphis had been wrested by them from the grasp of the sons of AMOSIS shortly before the epoch now under review. This capital, and probably Abydos also, seems to have been held by the Theban Pharaohs upon a tenure exactly like that wherewith their ancestors of the 11th dynasty maintained their conquests in the Delta. A considerable tract of country, under the sway of another and independent king, lay between the northern and

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southern divisions of their kingdom. The hold of the Theban Pharaohs upon a distant and wide-lying dependency like Memphis, would necessarily be but feeble under these circumstances. It is therefore not at all surprising that, during the war of MESPHRES in Ethiopia, it should have been snatched away from them by their powerful neighbours on its northern frontier.

The marriage of THOTHMOSIS with the daughter and heiress of Middle Egypt, and the accession thereby to the Theban crown of the whole valley, from the borders of Thebes up to the very walls of Memphis, would naturally suggest to him the desirableness of recovering once more this appanage also of the kingdom of his forefathers. The Greek tradition regarding THOTHMOSIS had told us that the advantages he obtained against the Shepherds were mainly procured, not by arms, but treaties. We have detected and, as we hope, made clear the same fact, lying hid among the boastful and warlike phrases of these inscriptions. This was accomplished at the termination of the 23rd year of the reign and life of THOTHMOSIS, on the occasion, as we assume, of his marriage with the daughter of Middle Egypt. The probability of some previous matrimonial connection between this royal family and the Xoite kings of the Delta, is strongly suggested both by the circumstances of the two kingdoms, and by the terms of this hieroglyphic history. The very great difficulty with which THOTHMOSIS maintained his possessions in Lower Egypt, and the probability that he finally ceded Memphis to the Xoite Pharaoh in the 29th year of his

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reign, Heliopolis in the 35th, and the whole of his possessions in the Delta in his 39th year, will already have sufficiently appeared in the course of our translation and analysis of these interesting but mutilated texts.

Thus have we established the existence of a powerful, flourishing, and warlike kingdom in the Delta, during the reigns of THOTHMOSIS and his mother at Thebes. So powerful was this monarchy, that all the force at the command of Upper Egypt was insufficient to retain the possessions and privileges in Lower Egypt, which had been ceded to THOTHMOSIS by his marriage-treaty, against the aggressive policy of the Xoite kings and their Canaanite allies. This fact, so important to the history of Egypt, exactly coincides with the Jewish account of the sojourn of the Israelites in that country. They were the subjects of a great kingdom, strong in foreign alliances and foreign commerce, and therefore their increase was very rapid.

THE TOMB OF ROS-SHE-RA, AT GOURNOU.

It will clearly be of the highest importance if we can, by other monumental evidence, establish and prove our assumption that the transactions with so-called foreigners, recorded in the inscriptions, were, for the most part, treaties of peace, and not actions of war. This proof is abundantly supplied to us by the paintings on the walls of the exquisitely beautiful tomb of Ros-she-ra, *i.e.*, "a prince like the sun," who was one of

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the nobles of the court of THOTHMOSIS. This tomb, being at present used as a stable for asses, has escaped the wholesale destruction which has befallen so many other tombs in its vicinity.

Ros-she-ra, like other princes, had many titles, amongst which were those of "bearer of the land-tribute," and "superintendent of the royal constructions." The devices in this tomb which are now before us, represent him in the former of these capacities. It is a vast picture covering the whole wall, and entitled "the reception of the tribute of the land brought in to the king by the captives [tributaries] in person." The picture thus described consists of five plains or registers, and above each of them is a horizontal line of hieroglyphics describing the scene below.

At the end of the picture, opposite to that on which once stood a gigantic figure of Ros-she-ra, are the remains of scribes registering the various offerings. On the part of the wall now entirely defaced, which terminates the picture on the opposite side, there was doubtless once a portrait of the king on his throne. The uppermost register reads:

"*The bringing of the collections of the impure of the land of Phenne, which they bring in unto the footstool of his majesty, king* THOTHMOSIS, *everliving. Justly, with all the goods of their lands, they ransom themselves from death* ..... [mutilated] ..... *I have made all their lands to be bound to his majesty, even I, the chief physician, &c.*"

The picture underneath begins with piles of offerings; the principal being two obelisks of granite.

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There are also three baskets of rings of pure gold, three baskets of the precious stones which we have named pearls, but which seem, from their appearance in this picture, to have been jasper or cornelians; two baskets of brown stones, probably the sardonyx; a basket with five packages of gold-dust; and a basket with small tiles of marble. A procession of foreigners follows, with dark hair, and having the light brown complexion of the Arabs of the desert. They are naked, with the exception of the cincture which extends from the waist to the middle of the thigh, and is white striped with blue. They bring along with them, as their personal gifts, panther-skins, a piece of ebony, an elephant's tooth, strings of red beads, two kinds of apes, an antelope or gazelle, a panther, and a tree still growing and with the roots in a basket of earth, evidently intended for plantation in the land of Egypt.

Punon, or Phenne, was in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor.* The complexion and appearance of the people who are here depicted, agree exactly with those of the modern inhabitants of the desert of Sinai. The productions of their country were principally mineral. In this circumstance we find another agreement with Phenne, which was celebrated for its mines. One of their contributions also consisted of a pair of granite obelisks. Assuredly, therefore, their country was not further distant from the borders of Egypt than Phenne. The labour of transporting two such masses across the desert would be so great, that it could only be effected at the cost

* Egypt; her Testimony to the Truth, p. 82.

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of an enormous sacrifice of human life. We shall presently find granite constructions of the age of THOTHMOSIS in great abundance on the westernmost point of the Delta. This granite is certainly more likely to have come from Sinai than from Syene in Upper Egypt. The account of Herodotus also, that the granite of the Pyramids was brought from the mountains of Arabia, is made very probable by this picture, which represents granite as one of the productions derived from thence by Ancient Egypt.

Gazelles and panthers are to this day the natives of the peninsula of Sinai.

The monkeys, the ebony, and the ivory, were probably the products of the foreign commerce which we know from the Bible the races in this vicinity had carried on from the very first.

The second plane or register is thus entitled: "*The bringing of the collections made by the impure of the land of Sheba, on the border of the sea, they prostrate themselves before the face of the mercy of his majesty* THOTHMOSIS *everliving* ..... [the rest illegible] . ....."

We have already stated our belief that this country is Sheba, which borders the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The remains of it are still traceable in the modern Arab name of the same district, *Akaba*. The mountains in the vicinity of this gulf abound in minerals and in the traces of ancient mines; and the contributions of the country designated by the name before us are altogether minerals. The people who bring them have the complexion of Egyptians, and resemble them also in general appearance.

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In the third register of this picture is a procession of southern people, alternately red, brown, and black, bringing gold and silver, ostrich feathers and eggs, ivory, and minerals of other kinds peculiar to the south of Egypt. The inscription above this plane reads: "*The bringing of the collections of the impure nations of the south.*"

The fourth register is occupied by a file of men of the complexion which is seen to this day in Syria. It is of the pale-yellow of the gold plates that many of them are carrying. The inscription above reads: "*The bringing in of the offerings of the impure races of the two lands of Arvad and of all the north.*"

It is needless now to explain that Arvad is Lower Egypt; a fact which also may be discerned in the large and rich offering represented in the plane below this register, and which consists of the foreign importations of the Delta as well as of its native productions. The tribute-bearers are represented with the countenances, complexions, and dress, of the inhabitants of North Canaan, so anxious was the Theban priesthood to conceal from posterity the fact that in the days of THOTHMOSIS there were two independent kingdoms in Egypt.

The fifth and last plane of this picture is entitled the tribute of the nations of the south, and seems to have represented negroes bringing building materials; but it is too much mutilated to be distinctly intelligible.

This picture merely embodies a scene that we have just been reading on the walls of the temple of Karnak. The allies and dependencies of Egypt, both

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to the northward and to the southward, brought contributions towards the building of the temples of Thebes in the days of THOTHMOSIS. As president of the bearers of the land-tribute, it was the duty of Ros-she-ra to introduce them into the presence of the king. The scene when complete represented him in the act of doing so.

There is yet another device in the tomb of Ros-she-ra which throws considerable light upon the history of the reign of THOTHMOSIS, in connection with the history of the northern frontier of his kingdom. It first appeared twenty-five years ago, in the splendid series of plates published by the Tuscan government, under the direction of Rosellini. It has since that time been made very familiar in England, by its frequent repetition in works upon our subject, under the title of *Jews making bricks in Egypt.* The far more faithful and carefully-executed copy from the original of Dr. Lepsius has supplied many important particulars which did not appear in the older copy. It represents a group of slaves, prisoners of war or forced labourers, at work on all the processes of brick-making, under the oversight of two task-masters, whose dark complexions and black eyes show them at once to have been Upper Egyptians. The prisoners are of two races. Six of them of the light or sallow complexion of Canaan, with blue eyes. They are employed in drawing the water, in tempering the clay, and in the other drudgeries of their occupation. The complexion of the rest of the prisoners is of the red hue by which the inhabitants of Egypt were always denoted; but it is

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of a considerably lighter tinge than that of their Upper Egyptian task-masters. Their eyes are likewise hazel or grey, not black; their hair varies in the same manner. The countenances of very few of them have the Egyptian cast, but exhibit great and very ugly variations of feature, such as would arise from foreign intermixture. We see not how it is possible to doubt that this is a group of Lower Egyptians, brought by THOTHMOSIS as forced labourers from his newly-acquired territory in the Delta. Some of the party were foreign immigrants (Canaanites or Jews), the rest were half-castes or Mulattoes, natives of the Delta, and the offspring of Egyptian and Canaanite parents (*see Plate*, p. 86). The same degraded race is represented everywhere throughout the tomb of Ros-she-ra performing acts of drudgery under the coercion of task-masters, their degradation being further symbolized by their torn and patched garments. We submit that these approximations completely establish the correctness of our reading of the history of THOTHMOSIS on his northern frontier.

We have already shown from 1 Chronicles ii. 1—9, 17, 18, that it was the universal custom of the ancient world to employ the forced labours of the inhabitants of newly-acquired countries in the construction of public buildings in the capital of the conqueror.

Other portions of the temple of Karnak, besides those we have considered, have also been executed by THOTHMOSIS. They are in the same high style of art as his other constructions. They are altogether mythic,

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and merely relate his acts of worship to the gods. This is likewise the case on the opposite bank of the Nile, at Medinet Abou and El Asasif, where he made somewhat extensive additions to the temples begun by his mother and the rest of his relatives. They are all of beautiful execution, and embody mythological allusions only.

There are likewise some other tombs in the catacomb of Gournou which were excavated by the princes of THOTHMOSIS, besides the one to which we have already called attention.

The monumental indications of the presence of THOTHMOSIS in the Delta, have hitherto been discovered at Heliopolis and Alexandria only. Two of the obelisks removed by the Romans from Heliopolis bear the name of THOTHMOSIS. The one stands upright before the cathedral of St. John Lateran at Rome, the other in the Atmeidan at Constantinople. There is but little to interest in the inscriptions of either of these obelisks, which are well known to all students of the subject. On the latter obelisk is an allusion to conquests in Naharain, which, as our readers are aware, was a generic name for all countries without the north-eastern bounds of Egypt.

Another interesting memorial of the constructions of THOTHMOSIS at Heliopolis has very recently been dug out of the sand at Matarea. It is the jamb of the gateway of the temple of Athom. The obelisks we have described stood in front of it.

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DOORWAY OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHOM AT HELIOPOLIS.

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The hieroglyphics are superbly executed. It is evidently the temple whence the obelisks of St. John Lateran and Constantinople were removed by the Romans. Lines 1 and 2 describe the colossus of THOTHMOSIS, which sate immediately before the propylon to which this jamb was attached. LINE 1. "*The great Horus ruling in Upper Egypt, beloved of the sun. The king, the lord omnipotent* [*mn-chru-ra*], *beloved of Athom, living for ever.*" LINE 2. "*Lord of both Egypts, administering royal justice in both Egypts; son of the sun from his loins,* THOTHMOSIS *on the border; beloved of the hawk, the lord of the great temple.*" LINE 3 was at the immediate entrance of the temple. It is the address of the god to THOTHMOSIS; "*saith Athom, the lord of On, 'We give thee a pure life every day, for thou multipliest our festivals like* [*those of*] *the sun.'*" The sitting colossus of THOTHMOSIS at the propylon without the temple, and the upright one of Athom within the temple, were both seen by the reader of this inscription while yet the temple stood. It was for this reason they were made to discourse together.

The two obelisks which once stood before the temple of Re-Athom at Alexandria, so well known as Cleopatra's Needles, were designed and probably erected by THOTHMOSIS. Two faces only of the upright one are now legible. Upon the prostrate obelisk, the name of THOTHMOSIS in Lower Egypt and a detached group or two of characters are all that remain traceable. There does not appear to be any history in the inscriptions upon this obelisk (such is too often the case with the writings on these the most beautiful of all the remains

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of Ancient Egypt), unless we choose to consider such, the erasure by THOTHMOSIS of the name of his mother on the north face, of which so many examples abound in the ruins of Thebes. In the present instance, he has overwritten the name of AMENSES or her husband with a legend, in which he claims to be the son of Re-Athom of Heliopolis, by immediate and direct descent. This circumstance certainly confirms our conjecture that these erasures of the name of AMENSES were dictated by his natural horror of the incest, of which he himself was the issue.

The monuments of the reign of THOTHMOSIS bear indisputable testimony to the fact that the transactions of his reign were successful in placing at his command a large amount of forced labour, however far they may sink below the lofty pretensions advanced for them by the mendacious writers of their hieroglyphic records.

We have already been repeatedly under the necessity of expressing our apprehension that THOTHMOSIS was the son of incest; that his father was also his grandfather MESPHRES, and that his mother AMENSES was also his sister. This most revolting surmise seems to be made a certainty by the inscription on a statue in black basalt, which was found at Gournou many years ago by Athanasi, and brought to this country, where it was purchased, we believe, by Lepsius for the Royal Museum at Berlin. On the visit of this greatest of living archæologists to Thebes in 1843, he discovered in the mountain of Gournou the tomb in which the statue had been found; and from the in-

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scription in it ascertained many particulars regarding the personage who had been buried there. He was superintendent of the constructions added to the temple of Amun at Gournou, by AMENSES and the two queens of her husband or her son, whose names we have already given.* The name of this personage, with his titles and the rest of its accompaniments, was also found by the same investigator stamped on several bricks and balls of Nile-mud, burnt and unburnt, in the vicinity of the temple of Gournou. He likewise copied it from the sandstone quarries of Silsilis. It was everywhere accompanied by the name of AMENSES. Those of the other two queens were likewise occasionally inscribed there also, and in one instance that of MESPHRES. The name of this officer has been erased everywhere, both on his statue and on the walls of his tomb, together with that of AMENSES. It is a very revolting one. It reads *son-mautf*, "brother of his mother." The suspicion which this name so strongly excites is confirmed to all but certainty by the religious rite which the statue represents him in the act of performing. His beard is shaven off, he wears the head-dress of a woman, and muffled in a large flowing garment, he crouches, having between his knees either the young THOTHMOSIS or an image of him, which was doubtless brought forth at the conclusion of the ceremony,

* Above, p. 198.

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and enshrined as the filial divinity of the temple. Son-mautf being thus officially the mythic mother of the son of AMENSES, there is no room to doubt that the incestuous parentage of this son was implied by his revolting name.

The queens of THOTHMOSIS scarcely appear on the monuments. *Ra-nephru* accompanies him at El Asasif,* but most probably as the wife or daughter of AMENENTHES his father-in-law.

We have already explained that the greater part of the works of THOTHMOSIS were carried on while his mother and father-in-law were living and co-regent with him. The death of MESPHRES, his grandfather and father, seems from the inscriptions at Karnak to have taken place in the 23rd year of his age and reign. We find from the lists that he reigned alone for nine years only.† According to the tablet found by Lepsius at Heliopolis, his reign lasted for 47 years at least. If this be its extent, the death of AMENENTHES took place in its 38th year.

* Lepsius, Abt. 3, bl. 20. † Above, p. 208.

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CHAPTER VI.

CHRONOLOGY.—ACHERRES SON OF THOTHMOSIS.—HIS REIGN AND MONUMENTS.—LONG INSCRIPTION AT AMADA.—ARMAIS SON OF ACHERRES.—HIS WORKS.—HIS DEFEAT NEAR PHILÆ BY THE PHUTIM.—THE GREAT SPHINX OF GHIZEH.—HIS MONUMENTS AT HELIOPOLIS AND ALEXANDRIA.—EXPELLED FROM THEBES AND MIDDLE EGYPT BY THE DISC-WORSHIPPERS.—AMENOPHIS-BEKENATEN.—HIS WORKS AT THEBES AND AMARNA.—ENCHERIS.—TAI, THE DAUGHTER OF AMENOPHIS.—MARRIED ARMAIS FOR HER THIRD HUSBAND.—KING AI HER FIRST HUSBAND.—CHEBRES HER SECOND HUSBAND.—AMENOPHIS-MEMNON.—THE SON OF ARMAIS AND TAI.—HIS MOTHER'S POLICY.—LONG AND PROSPEROUS REIGN.—GREAT WORKS.—HORUS.—HIS FANATICISM AGAINST THE DISC-WORSHIPPERS.—HIS CHARACTER IN CONSEQUENCE FOR PIETY.—END OF THE 18TH DYNASTY.

BEFORE entering upon the narrative of the successors of THOTHMOSIS, it will be needful to give such a summary of the reigns of him and his predecessors as shall guide us to some judgment as to the time that may probably have elapsed since we last made the computation. Having no guide but Manetho, it is satisfactory to know that all the four transcriptions of him are very unusually in harmony with each other on this point. We give from the tablet of Abydos and other monuments the hieroglyphic succession of the

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kings of this epoch, harmonizing with it the Greek names and the dates of the reign of each, as he has recorded them.

Hieroglyphics.	Manetho.	Years of Reign.			
		Africanus.	Joseph.	Euseb.	Armn.
	Amosis (Lists) Misphragmouthosis (History)	(no date).	25.	25.	25.
	Chebron-Amenophis (son of Amosis)	21.	20½.	21.	21.
	Mesphres [Thothmosis I.] (son of Chebron)	13.	13.	12.	12.
	Achencheres [Thothmosis II.] (son of Mesphres)	32.	12.	16.	16.
	Amenses, p. 192 (sister of Achencheres, twice married)	22.	22.	omitted.	omitted.
	Thothmosis [III.] (son of Amenses)	9.	9½.	9.	9.
		97.	102.	83.	83.

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The omission of AMENSES in one copy of the lists and her insertion in another, we have found to be exactly in accordance with the testimony of the monuments. She is omitted from all the genealogies and successions; and from most of the monuments which she and her husbands have executed, her name has been erased.

The discrepancies in the dates of these four copies are smaller than might have been anticipated. The mean of them gives us 100 years, or thereabouts, for the time that actually elapsed between AMOSIS and THOTHMOSIS. This period, added to our former calculation, brings us down to about the 160th or 170th year of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, for the proximate date of the accession of the son and successor of THOTHMOSIS.

ACHERRES.

His name is thus written on the tablet of Abydos (B 45), and other monuments. It has interchanged in the lists with that of the grandson and second successor of the monarch who bore it. It reads, Lower Egypt, *aa-chru-re*, i.e., "great among the solar creations;" Upper Egypt, *amn-hopt nouter-hik-pen*, "the joined to Amun," "god over the Shepherds of the frontier." Of these titles, the middle one, *amn-hopt*, will first require our attention. It was that of one of the predecessors of the monarch before us, and therefore, if we choose to adopt it, we must write him

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AMENOPHIS II. It has been applied to him by Manetho and the compilers of the lists, wherein it is accompanied by the following historical notice: "He it is who is supposed to be MEMNON and the speaking stone." The "speaking stone" of this notice is a huge colossal sitting figure, which yet remains upright though defaced, in the middle of the plain of western Thebes, covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions, engraved there by travellers who visited Thebes in the days of the Ptolemies and Cæsars. The writers had heard the statue utter sounds at sunrise. It is expressly named *Memnon* by several of them. One inscription calls the statue "MEMNON, who is PHAMENOPH. The initial *ph* is the Coptic definite article. The remainder is evidently the name written *amn-hopt* in the ring before us, the AMENOPHIS of the lists. On referring, however, to the hieroglyphics on the statue itself, we find the name of AMENOPHIS, it is true, but combined with titles altogether different from those in this name. They belong to the second successor of the present king. The true MEMNON will be found in the lists at the end of the dynasty with the name of AMENOPHIS or AMENOPHATH. The first title of the monarch before us reads *aa-chru-re*. This seems to be the ACHERRES of the lists, which occurring in the second succession from AMENOPHIS II., the two names may have changed places. The Greek version, therefore, of the name now under consideration was ACHERRES.

The third title in the name of the son of THOTHMOSIS, *nouter-hik-pen* (*i. e.*, "god over the Shepherd-king of the frontier"), seems to imply that the north-

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eastern frontier of Egypt, having been pacified by his father, was not disturbed in the days of his son. The monuments confirm this somewhat faint suggestion. The constructions of ACHERRES-AMENOPHIS (or AMENOPHIS II.), are altogether confined to Thebes, Upper Egypt to the south of it, and Nubia.

At Thebes this king carried forward the great works which his father had begun at Karnak, in the eastern bank. The third pair of propyla of this gorgeous suite of palaces was the work of ACHERRES-AMENOPHIS.

The other monuments of ACHERRES were worthy of his ancestors and of himself. At the island of Beghe, on the extreme southern limit of Egypt, the fragment of a colossal statue has been found inscribed with the name of ACHERRES, with the title, "beloved of Noh, the lord of the temple." Some other fragments of the exquisite execution of his times make it evident that he localized here, at the first point at which the Nile touches Egypt, the worship of Noah, the god of the annual overflow. At Kalabshi, in Lower Nubia, ACHERRES was the founder of the original temple dedicated to Horus, which was rebuilt by one of the Ptolemies. At Amada, in Upper Nubia, he carried on the works begun by his father in the temple of Phre, the tutelary of that city. The work was undertaken in the third year of his reign, on the 14th day of the 4th month, Epep. This date is given in the course of a long inscription at the end of the adytum, which resembles too many of those we have already considered, in containing very few facts, in being composed in a spirit of gross exaggeration, and also in the

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small amount of its literary merit. It is a poem, according to the primitive notions of poetry; that is, it consists of short sentences, the meaning being contained in the first clause of the sentence, and repeated as in an echo in the second; so that the rhythm or measure flows equally from the sense and sound, like the Hebrew poetry.

In the 3rd year, month Epep, day 14, of the king,
The mighty Horus,
The great avenger of both Egypts,
The observer of justice,
Causing Egypt to rejoice in festivals,
The golden hawk coming from the chastisement of all lands,
The divinely beneficent,
The lord omnipotent,
The king ACHERRES,
The son of the sun, issuing from his loins,
Who [the sun] loves him [Pharaoh],
The lord of all lands.
AMENOPHIS, god of the border-kings,
Beloved of Ra-Amun, the lord of the three seats of justice,
The best of the divine creations of the sun,
First issue of his loins,
Watchful like the hawk in the house of his father; *
His scymitar is so sharp that it annihilates [his enemies];
Moreover, the king's arm pierces deeply,
The bows of his archers are never unstrung
Against the Shepherd-kings of the strange land
And against the chiefs of Arvad [Lower Egypt].†
He is mighty in his conquests;
The king tears his prey like a panther,
He dazzles when he shines forth,

* The hawk was the living symbol of Ra; and one kept alive was worshipped in this temple. This is an evident allusion to the natural habits of the hawk.

† We have already ascertained this identity. Its occurrence here is another confirmation of it. Arvad is the northern enemy of ACHERRES.

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There is no contending with him,
He smites [them] with his bow,
He casts down with the fierceness of his countenance,
[He is] firm upon his throne,
He surrounds with double walls of defence,
So that Egypt is safe altogether.
He spits upon those that rebel against him,
The fierceness of his face subdues them,
Even all the lands, the people, and the horses.
Then they came and supplicated us,
That they might not be sacrificed [*lit.*, purified] to Amun in his waters.*
He beholds them,
He makes them to flee with the fierceness of his countenance,
When he glares upon them.
Strong are his limbs as Amun,
In the year that he created the world.
No arm can save from him,
He utterly destroys the rebellious and the impure of the Phutim,†
He reduces to submission both banks of their waters,
All their plain land and all their mountains.
The king rejoiceth over them when his arms smite down the disobedient;
Where he cast them forth, there they lay.
They made no conditions with him,
Their life was in the breath of the king [*i.e.*, at his word].
The kings of the Shepherds came,
They approached his footstool,
The god mighty to subdue,
Whose soul rejoiceth in glorifying Ra in heaven.
He [the king] came to him [Ra] on the day of his smiting.
His countenance is inexorable,
They who approach him [with supplication] cannot succeed,‡

* Human sacrifices were certainly used in Egypt. Herodotus expressly mentions that they consisted in throwing the victims into the Nile (ii. 39; also Diod. i. 73). There is an evident allusion to this custom here.

† *i.e.*, "of the descendants of Phut," the black races in the immediate vicinity of Amada.

‡ The god is a hawk; the flashes of his fierce eyes dazzle and fascinate his hapless prey, towards which he knows no relentings. He tears it ruthlessly

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Every land collects its tributes,
Every country leads forth his prisoners,
They melt like water at the fierceness of his countenance.
He is as a hooded snake to them,
There is fire within him,
The wicked that supplicate him cannot stand before him,
He is as the horn of the fire-bearing goddess [*mutilation*].
The habitations [*lit.*, nests] of Arvad [Lower Egypt] are bound to him for ever;
They are the portion of his son [*i.e.*, they are part of Egypt descending to his son with the rest of his possessions].
Justice goes forth from his person,
It is firm with him;
The Shepherd-king ... [*mutilation*] ... comes ... [*mutilation*] ... [doubtless with supplications, *i.e.*, to make a treaty].
Vigilant in victory is the king,
His heart is devoted [or, he conceives in his heart] to build to all the gods
Constructions [temples] each in their own cities.
The progeny of the sacred hawk [most probably the priests];
He multiplies to them meat-offerings ..... [*mutilation*],
That the name of Ra may endure for ever.
Their herds, their flocks, their minerals [these were doubtless the forced contributions of Lower Egypt to the temple of Amada];
Neither slowly nor reluctantly did he give
To the temple of the lord, the divine hawk, that concealeth * all things. [The allusion here is evidently to the hiding instinct of all birds of prey in captivity. The group means "to steal," as well as "to hide"].
Oxen ..... [*mutilation*].

to pieces. The king is a minister worthy of such a god. He is full of his spirit; there is no pity in his heart; his eye never spares; his arm is never uplifted but to inflict vengeance and to destroy. The rhythm of all primitive poetry seems strangely prostituted to the expression of sentiments like these.

* *gul*, Copt. ϬΟΛ, "to steal," "conceal." The first character is a kind of apron worn by kings on the occasion of certain ceremonies. The lower fringe was supported on a frame, so that it stood off from the person a foot or more. It was part of the ceremony for the king to convey furtively away some object beneath this apron.

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Also that which is due in eggs, milk, and wine, he hath greatly increased (*Rosetta*, Greek, lines 31, *seq.*).

This head-dress which he wears is that of the gods;

For [while he wears it] he beholds the glorified race of Athom [*i. e.*, the spirits of dead men].

He beholds ..... [*very long mutilation*].

His father THOTHMOSIS,

And the gods of all the constructions of stone,

Which he hath built to endure for ever,

And all the precincts of brick wherewith he hath surrounded them;

Also all the gates and the propyla of granite ..... [*mutilation*].

The king, the son of the sun, THOTHMOSIS, was the founder of this house.

His name endures for ever and ever.

In this good god the king ACHERRES,

Even in his bowels and in his members,

Burnt the fire [ardour] of all his fathers,

When he completed this vast construction of granite ..... [*mutilation*].

A sanctuary [adytum] and a house of birth,*

Lofty and spacious, cased throughout with granite of the frontier mountain [*i. e.*, Syene],

Built also for eternity.

Many tablets of granite, many vessels of granite, of silver, and of bronze,

Vases also for offerings,

Many baths of bronze, and vessels of ablution, his hands have brought;

Moreover, the king hath commanded to execute this tablet.

It is sculptured in this part of the temple,

Even in the sanctuary;

Therefore the lord, the divine hawk,

Confirms to him health and victory,†

* *i. e.*, a chamber in which the goddess, or female half of the god of the temple, was delivered of a son, who was the filial divinity, and worshipped together with his father and mother; ACHERRES himself being the human impersonation of the young god.

† See Rosetta, Hiero. line 5, Gr. 4—11.

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And that his name may be great,
Even the lord of the two Egypts,
The son of the sun,
AMENOPHIS, god of the frontier-kings,
In the house of his fathers' gods.
The king came from Arvad [Lower Egypt],
With all his prisoners and captives,
Unto this frontier of Egypt.
When he had attacked and conquered,
His heart was weighed [*i.e.*, he had justified himself] to his father Amun.
That which he had spoiled ..... [*long mutilation*] ..... ["was dedicated to Amun," would doubtless complete the sentence].
Of those which belonged to his majesty himself,
Even those of the land of *Tosi* [the name of one of the black nations],
Who were overthrown in the presence of the divine hawk,
The king hath brought;
That his name, even ACHERRES,
May be sculptured everywhere throughout the two Egypts.
They came to all these upper regions ..... [*mutilation*],
Prisoners to build the precincts in Egypt with their hands;
Moreover, he brought along with them
Also prisoners of the land of Nubia,
Who dwelt afar off beyond the precinct [boundary] of the Phutim [*the* blacks of the western desert];
That they might see that his conquests are for ever and ever,
Over all the plains, and over all the mountains,
And over all the districts of the Nahasi [the negroes].
Therefore he hath brought from the south the people whom he hath smitten,
And from the north the people who have submitted themselves and their country,
That he might increase the glory of the god Ra over them.
Never were constructions built by captives
Like these constructions, to his father
Ra-Amun, lord of the three seats of justice,
Which the son of the sun,
Issuing from his loins,

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Who loves him,
ACHERRES, god over the kings of the frontier,
Possessed of life, strength, and purity, perfectly,
Whose heart is weighed [justified] like the sun for ever,
Hath built.

We give this inscription at length, that our readers may be enabled from it to form their own judgment of the general character of the poems that were inscribed upon the walls of the temples of Egypt. A few facts are also embodied in it which are by no means devoid of historical interest.

It speaks very unequivocally of the condition of Egypt at this period, which exactly corresponds to that we had already inferred from his father's monuments. The state of things to which the monuments of THOTHMOSIS so strongly testified, obtained also in the reign of his son. A portion of Arvad or Lower Egypt belonged to the Theban kingdom; and if it had been ceded altogether by THOTHMOSIS, which seems probable, the cession had now been in a measure reversed by some new treaty. The temple of Amada was built in part with the tribute, and by the hands of the forced labourers to whose services this sovereignty entitled Upper Egypt.

The king of Lower Egypt was at peace with ACHERRES. It was with the black races in Nubia and the adjacent deserts that he was at war. This state of things, which we might have inferred from the monuments themselves, is formally stated in the poem,

He hath brought the people of the south whom he hath smitten,
And the people of the north who have submitted themselves.

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The very remarkable passage which informs us that when the king wore the head-dress in which he was represented in the relief immediately over the inscription, he was in ecstasy, and saw the glorified spirits of his ancestors, will doubtless not have escaped the notice of our readers. The ministers of the Egyptian idolatry pretended to supernatural powers. The hint in this mutilated passage alludes, accordingly, to some mode of communication with the invisible world, which they professed to impart to their votaries.

The tenor of the whole inscription shows that during the reign of THOTHMOSIS the wars and treaties with Lower Egypt had diverted the attention of the government from the southern frontier. Troubles from the incursions of the negro tribes into the Egyptian territories, would seem to have arisen immediately upon the accession of ACHERRES; for, in the third year only of his reign, we find that he had already settled them, and that the captive negroes were assisting the Lower Egyptian labourers in completing the temple of Amada.

At Ibrim, still higher in Nubia, the name of ACHERRES has been copied from the architrave of a *spéos* or votive chapel dedicated to Horus and Saté, the local divinities of the place.

At Wady-Halfa, also, ACHERRES began the graceful little temple dedicated to the Coptic Amun, which was completed by his successors.

At Kummeh, which is in Ethiopia, beyond the bounds of Nubia, ACHERRES made many additions to the temple to SESORTOSIS III., which was begun by his grandfather and continued by his father.

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At Sarbut-el-Chadim, on the Arab shore of the gulf of Suez, the tablet of ACHERRES is read along with those of his predecessors of the 12th dynasty and of many of his successors. Like them he drew from thence supplies of copper and other metals.

At Thebes, in the tomb of the priest *Herosis*, who was over the treasury of ACHERRES, is represented a gorgeous array of vestments, collars, arms offensive and defensive, statues, vases, and other personal ornaments and works of art. These are all exhibited before the king, who sits upon a throne supported by eleven prisoners, and is invested with the insignia of a god. The riches and magnificence of the court of ACHERRES are clearly shadowed forth by this device.

The reign of ACHERRES was not a very long one. In three of the copies of the lists, it is said to have lasted but twelve years.

ARMAIS.

The successor of ACHERRES, according to the tablet of Abydos (B. 46), was also his son, as appears from other monuments.

The name is thus written. LOWER EGYPT, *mn-chru-ra*, "sun fertile in creations." UPPER EGYPT, *tot-ms-sha-u*; "born of Thoth of [many] festivals." To identify it in the lists of Manetho is a task nearly hopeless. We have explained that in them ACHERRES-AMENOPHIS, the father of this king, changes places with AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, who was his son. The

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error is perpetuated in the intermediate entry. HORUS, the son and successor of MEMNON, is made there to follow next upon his father, whereby he becomes the predecessor of his own great-grandfather ACHERRES. The only unappropriated name among the successors of ACHERRES in the 18th dynasty is written ARMESSES and ARMAIS. He is the third or fourth successor of ACHERRES, but, singularly enough, he is preceded by a repetition of the name of ACHERRES; as if the compilers of the lists had been conscious that the two were in immediate succession, and had therefore re-entered the name of ACHERRES for the purpose of putting them in this relation, at the trifling cost, to them, of an additional Pharaoh. He seems, therefore, to have been the king named ARMAIS in the lists; though it does not appear in what part of his name this epithet originated.

We have already found confusions in the lists like these to be the sure signs of troublous times in Egypt. We are therefore prepared for the circumstance that ARMAIS (who is generally named THOTHMOSIS IV.) appears from the monuments to have had a turbulent reign. His principal remaining work is the completion of the temple of Amada, which, as we have seen, was begun by his grandfather, THOTHMOSIS (III.), and continued by his father ACHERRES. But a very small portion of this beautiful temple remained to be completed by ARMAIS on the death of his father. A few of the pillars which support the vestibule or hall of entrance, are alone inscribed with his legend.

On one of them he assumes the very remarkable

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title, "absorbed by SESORTOSIS III., the subduer of the whole land" [of Nubia].

At Karnak, in eastern Thebes, ARMAIS boasts of victories over Lower Egypt, in a device on one of the many propyla of this series of temple-palaces, where he is represented braining with his club a group of Asiatics tied to a stake. Victory, however, appears to have been by no means the exclusive characteristic of his reign.

An historical notice is appended to the name of ARMAIS in the lists, which informs us that after he had reigned five years he was expelled from Egypt by his brother Egyptus, and fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos, and reigned over the Argives under the name of DANAUS.

In the 7th year of the reign of ARMAIS, he was engaged in a war with the Phutim or negro tribes of the Sahara, which is recorded on a granite rock on the eastern bank of the Nile, over against the island of Philæ, at the southern extremity of Upper Egypt. The record of the war is begun, but it proceeds no further than the usual vaunting titles. It stops short suddenly, with the disjunctive particle "then." This very significant circumstance cannot be mistaken. The issue of the battle was a defeat instead of a victory.

The tombs of one or two of the courtiers of ARMAIS still exist at Gournou. Their decorations are in the same style of flattery as those of the courts of his predecessors. Pharaoh was now supreme in Egypt. His nobles were mere parasites.

The Great Sphinx of Ghizeh is one of the wonders

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of Egypt. It is a huge mass of rock which, partly by sculpture and partly by additions built upon it, has been shaped into the form of a lion with a man's head.

The name on the most conspicuous tablet in the temple, between the paws of this wonderful work, is that of ARMAIS. The long and much mutilated inscription which once covered this tablet, informs us that it was inscribed in the first year of ARMAIS, on the 19th of Choiak, the 4th month. It was therefore doubtless the work of his father in his name.

The inscription itself is an act of devotion to the god Re-Athom in Heliopolis, to whom the sphinx was especially dedicated. ARMAIS vaunts that he is the offspring of this god, and flesh of his flesh, and that through him he had chastised Memphis, and built in its southern precinct a temple to his tutelary Amun. The religious war, then, between Upper and Lower Egypt, had been by no means terminated by THOTHMOSIS, but still raged in the days of his grandson. This was doubtless the same success that ARMAIS afterwards commemorated on the propylon at Karnak. He goes on to tell us that he had multiplied the honours of all the gods, both of Upper and Lower

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Egypt, and also that he had completed this construction to Re-Athom, his father in Lower Egypt, and especially to his living symbol the hawk, his father in Upper Egypt. ARMAIS evidently claims some close affinity with this bird of prey, like his earthly father ACHERRES.

Then the young king, like a young hawk, did valiantly [diffused benefits], as king in Lower Egypt, as if the face of his father looked upon him, [yea] like the god himself.
The soldiers rejoiced in his love of his father,
His *Heteri* and all his officers were around him,
When he watched [as a lion] over Lower Egypt.
He conquered them,
He trod them beneath his feet,
He bound them,
Like the son of Neith-pe [Osiris].

The rest of this rhodomontade seems to set forth that he devoted the spoils of his victory, even chariots and horses, to many of the gods of the Delta. He then made a way or path, westward from Heliopolis, for the god to travel thereon. The sphinx noted the termination of this path. The site on which it stands he took from Memphis and transferred to Heliopolis. All nature, gods and men, rejoiced at this great union of the two banks of the Nile; Re-Athom especially, who addresses him in a strain of parental endearment, scarcely to be paralleled elsewhere.

The one other fact to be gathered from this mutilated inscription is that the sphinx was the work of SEPHRES of the 5th dynasty, as we have explained,* and that he also had dedicated it to Re-Athom. This is important.

* Vol. i. p. 311.

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It will be noted that the sphinx (Z. *Plan of Ghizeh*)* faces the east, which is precisely the direction of Heliopolis from Ghizeh. SEPHRES therefore designed it to be the commencement of an avenue of sphinxes, forming the Heliopolitan entrance to the precinct of his pyramid. The name SEPHRES, "he who celebrates a festival to the sun," also expresses an amount of devotion to the god of Heliopolis, not usual among the Pharaohs of his epoch. Of these ancient facts ARMAIS availed himself, and wrested, as we have seen, the whole precinct from Phtha and Memphis, to add it to Re-Athom and Heliopolis; thus establishing the latter god on both banks of the river at the expense of Phtha, to whom his house had an especial antipathy. It is not easy to understand how entirely the wars of Ancient Egypt were religious wars. In the device above this inscription ARMAIS worships the sphinx.

We have yet another independent witness that ARMAIS had possession of Heliopolis. The obelisk of the Piazza del Popolo, at Rome, which came from thence, and was begun by THOTHMOSIS, bears likewise the name of his grandson ARMAIS. Thus clear is it that there was war with Lower Egypt in the days of this latter king, and that he prosecuted with vigour the design of his ancestor AMOSIS, to make the god of all Egypt *Amun;* of which idol, *Ra* or *Re*, in his mythology, was an integral part.

An interesting memorial of ARMAIS has recently been discovered among the ruins of Alexandria, which further illustrates the spirit in which this war in the Delta

* Vol i. p. 254.

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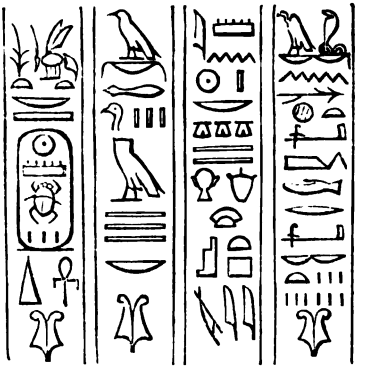
was prosecuted. The excavations that were made for defensive purposes by Ibrahim Pasha, about four years ago, to the westward of the modern city, uncovered four lotus pillars, each composed of a single block of red granite. They are about twenty feet high. They lie near each other. The upper parts retain their polish perfectly. The lower parts are greatly discoloured, and the inscription has scaled off, rendering it probable that the temple to which they belonged was destroyed by fire.

On all these columns, of the exquisite form of which the accompanying sketch will, we fear, convey but a faint idea, the name of ARMAIS has been inscribed on every third flute, the intermediate ones being left blank. This was the original intention, but (as is very commonly the case), the blanks were all filled up long afterwards by his successor AMENEPHTHIS, of the 19th dynasty, with his own name in wretched hieroglyphics. The legends of ARMAIS read as follows :—



(c. 1). "The king, the lord of both Egypts, ARMAIS, the life-giving."

(c. 2). "The golden hawk, greatest of birds in all the world."

(c. 3). "Beloved of

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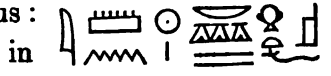
Amun-Re, lord of the three seats of justice of both Egypts, in his chief habitation."

(c. 4.) "Lord of the two Egypts, conquering sword piercing the Phutim."

In these remarkable titles we discover ARMAIS carrying to the extreme point of the Delta the worship of his god Amun at Karnak, and building there a costly temple to him. His especial affinity with, and affection for, the golden hawk, the living symbol of Ra, is expressed here again. We had already discovered its expressions on the tablet of the Great Sphinx and in the adytum of the temple of Amada in Nubia. We believe that the bird thus deified haunts Egypt to this day. It is a noble falcon, and the golden hues that flush from its plumage when in the vigour of life and health, vindicate its mythic title.

The line of policy of these Pharaohs, and the vigorous determination with which they pursued it, are rendered very apparent by these remains. Amun at Karnak (lord of the three seats of justice) shall be god in all Egypt, and have his temple in every city. ARMAIS has exhibited the firmness of his purpose by this gorgeous construction at a point so remote as Alexandria.

The expression, "Amun-Re, lord of the three seats of justice, in his chief place," seems to be the ancient name of Alexandria. In the inscriptions that were engraven on the same column at a later epoch, it is written thus:  *i.e.*, "Amun-Re, the world in his seat [residence]." In a magnificent collection of ancient Egyptian

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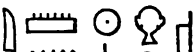
remains found at Alexandria, and presented by Mohammed Ali to the Austrian Consul there, which were, two years ago, in the court-yard of his official residence, consisting of architraves, columns, tablets, and statues, all covered with hieroglyphics and of remote periods, we noticed on several pieces the same title written thus,  . We exceedingly regret that we were not permitted to copy a single character from these interesting monuments, nor even to remain for the purpose of examining them. Their importance to the history of Egypt will sufficiently appear from the single group we were able to obtain from them. It reads, *Amn-ra-hi-ge* (or *ket*), Coptic, ϭϩϵϯ, "to remain," "a seat." The Coptic name for Alexandria, ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ (*ra-kote*), is probably an abbreviation of this, its ancient religious name. This approximation proves that the monuments do not err in assigning the foundation of Alexandria to the immediate predecessors of ARMAIS.

According to the lists, ARMAIS was king of Egypt for five years only. The inscription at Philæ extends his reign to seven years. The difference is unimportant. Whichever date be assumed, his reign was disastrous from this time. We have already noticed the brief history appended to his name in the lists, which makes him to have fled from Egypt before the arms of his brother, and to have reigned over Argolis in the Peloponnesus. It is impossible to determine the amount of fact that may be embodied in this tradition. The monuments speak with no equivocal voice of disasters in Egypt during the reign of ARMAIS.

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About fifteen years ago, one of the many propyla of the palace of Karnak, in eastern Thebes, was pulled down by the tyrant-barbarian Mohammed Ali, in order that the stones might be broken up and roasted to quicklime, to make stucco for the saltpetre-works he was building in the neighbourhood. This construction was the work of SETHOS I., of the 19th dynasty, and his father HORUS. Mr. Perring, an intelligent English architect, was there at the time. He was surprised to discover that the faces of the stones, which had been placed inwards and covered with cement, were likewise sculptured with hieroglyphics of the same perfect execution as those which had been engraven on them after their arrangement in the new building. These covered reliefs and inscriptions presented the details of a worship altogether different from that on the exterior of the temple, wherein adoration was paid to the DISC OF THE SUN, and to that alone. Through his labours, these singular reliefs have been preserved, and copies of them will be found in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.* The evidence of the revolution implied by this singular circumstance is purely monumental.

The history of Egypt (as we have read it thus far on the monuments), seems to connect all the great political changes in the monarchy with religion. Whether the change was in the seat of government or in the line of succession, it invariably originated in some attempt to

* Some fragments were also picked up by the Prussian Commission among the ruins of Karnak. They are now at Berlin. Abt. iii. bl. 110.

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modify the idolatry of Egypt. Even the so-called invasion of the Shepherds proves to be nothing more than a religious civil war. Of precisely this character was the war now before us. It was an insurrection against the fierce fanaticism of AMOSIS and his successors in the cause of their god Amun, whom they endeavoured to make supreme over all the other gods of Egypt. The movement proceeded, as is invariably the case, in exactly the opposite direction. The temple which SETHOS I. destroyed, and with the stones of which he built an addition to the palace of Karnak, had been the work of a powerful faction which arose in Egypt at the period now before us, and which professed (and for a time with great success) to abolish the worship of Amun, as well as of the rest of the idols of the country, and to substitute for them the adoration of the disc of the sun only. We will now endeavour to relate the history of this war. It will soon appear that it resembled all the other wars of Ancient Egypt, in its issue as well as in its motive. It effected another dismemberment of the kingdom, and raised a third pretension to the throne of Egypt.

We have already noticed that ARMAIS was defeated in his 7th year by the Phutim, on the southern border of Upper Egypt. He seems to have fled on that occasion before the conquering arms of this new sect of religionists, which, headed by a personage of African descent, had called to their aid the warlike races of the Phutim, inhabiting the oases of the desert westward of Nubia, who entirely sympathized with them in repudiating the gross idolatry of the Theban Pharaohs,

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and in ascribing all the attributes and worship of God to the disc of the sun only. A considerable party in Egypt joined the movement against ARMAIS. Many priests must likewise have taken part in it; for the hieroglyphics and reliefs of the disc-worshippers are quite as well executed as those on the temples of Amun. Most probably some younger brother of ARMAIS, descended perhaps from a negro mother, headed the insurrection which expelled him from Thebes. This probability is strongly supported by the note appended to the name of ARMAIS in the Greek lists, which relates that he was expelled from Egypt by his brother. It is rendered still more probable by the name of the usurper, inscribed upon the fragments of the ruined temple afterwards built into the propylon at Karnak. When first inscribed, the name was written thus: that is, he took for his Upper Egyptian name, AMENOPHIS, which was that of his own father, and of the father also of ARMAIS. But afterwards, as his zeal for his new god grew hotter, he repudiated even the light allusion to the forsworn idolatry which this name embodied. He erased the second ring, substituting for it the following: this erasure being carefully made over every repetition of the name throughout the entire temple. Thus altered, the rings read (1st), "the sun beautiful in form, first among the lights of heaven;" (2nd), *bek-en-aten*, "the servant of the disc of the sun;" so that his royal titles were now entirely purged from all allusions to strange gods.

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Of the fate of ARMAIS after his expulsion from Thebes and Upper Egypt, we can give but little account. It would seem that he fled to Lower Egypt, where he may have maintained his ground in the western Delta for some time, by the aid of the Xoite Pharaoh, against the new religionists and their black confederates. Middle Egypt, as well as Thebes, was for some time in the possession of the sun-worshippers. On the columns of the temple of Amun-Re, at Alexandria, ARMAIS writes himself "piercer of the Phutim," not "conqueror of the Shepherds," as all his ancestors had done. He does the same on the rocks at Philæ. This is the only evidence of his alliance with the king of the Delta. It affords, however, a strong proof that ARMAIS had to contend with foreign enemies on the southern frontier of Egypt; and as his father had passed his life principally on the same border of his kingdom, we might have safely inferred that in their times Egypt was in great peril from this quarter, even if there had been no other monumental evidence of the fact.

AMENOPHIS-*bek-en-aten.*

The sectarists by whom ARMAIS was expelled from Egypt were headed by the young AMENOPHIS; a prince, as we have seen, of African descent, and tinged and marked with the personal peculiarities of the sons of Phut and Cush, yet retaining enough of the true Egyptian contour to show that he was allied to the proto-monarch MENES, to whose throne he pretended. In the very numerous portraits of him and his children

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that still remain, there are visible traces of the endeavour on the part of the artists to give the utmost possible prominence to these distinctive marks. The dusky complexion, the high cheek-bones, projecting jaws, and thick lips, call forcibly to mind the features of the true negro. The same affinity is likewise suggested by the long thin neck and extreme prominence of the abdomen and hips, in the portraits of this prince and his descendants. Yet have they all the high forehead, the straight nose, and the wide eyes of the true Mizraite, and pre-eminently of the sons of MENES. We have long ago explained that the queen of the proto-monarch was a Phutite princess.* We have more recently had occasion to notice the fusion of the Upper Egyptian with the Phutite inhabitants of Nubia and Ethiopia, in the times of the supremacy over all Egypt of the Lower Egyptian line.† In addition, we have mentioned the frequent alliances by marriage with Phutite queens of the immediate ancestors of ARMAIS. The existence of a Phutite alliance with the royal family of MENES is, therefore, traced to the foundation of the monarchy, which was doubtless the sanction of the constant matrimonial alliances with princesses of this blood in the intermediate period; so that these swarthy disc-worshippers were of the family of MENES on both sides, and had thus a legitimate claim to the throne they conquered.

The modification of the sun-idolatry, introduced by these new kings, seems to have been that which prevailed among their Phutite and Cushite confederates.

* Vol. i. p. 414, &c. † Above, p. 154.

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The name of this their god was always enclosed in the two rings of MENES, whereby he was inaugurated as king of all Egypt. The legend in these rings never varies. It reads thus: "the sun-god of the two solar mountains [the east and the west], in whose presence they rejoice, whose name is the darter of beams, who is in the disc of the sun." The sun itself is accordingly represented over every picture of the king and his family, shedding upon them beams which terminate in human hands, some of which present to the mouths of their royal progeny the symbol of life, while others embrace their persons. In many of these strange pictures, two solar hands clasp the left side of the king at the region of the heart. The head and crown of the queen are likewise supported by these living effluxes from the great source of physical light and life. The legends that accompany these wonderful pictures are more monotonous in their phraseology than those of the Amonian idolatry; but, nevertheless, are strongly tinged with all their peculiarities. The following may serve as an instance. It is an address to the sun by the queen of AMENOPHIS, who, as we shall presently see, was a daughter of Lower Egypt. "Thou shinest forth, O lord beneficent, the sun-king [the name in two rings as before], giving life for ever and ever, even the living disc of the sun; no guide goes before thee; when thou emittest thy beams all eyes see clearly. Now thou art rising, O king, from the mountains of the east, to make perfect the life of man, and beast, and bird; all things in the world

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glorify thee, they live when they see thee, they are made strong by thy gifts," &c.

We mentioned, near the outset of the present work that the first settlers in the valley established the worship of the *setting sun* at Heliopolis.* These sectarists, on the other hand, seem to have directed their worship especially to the *rising sun*. The figure of the queen in the present instance † faces the east, and lifts up her hands in the ordinary Egyptian attitude of worship.

The doctrine, regarding the king, of this new worship, was as strictly Egyptian as every other particular of its ritual, notwithstanding the modification in its object. The king was the direct descendant of the sun; his authority and the virtues and powers of his rule were direct emanations from the solar disc. This was significantly shown forth by the rays which projected life into his mouth, and that, clasping his heart, infused into it courage, and wisdom, and justice. The king and his family were the only media of communication between the sun, the source of all blessings, and the people. Each individual prince in the court of Pharaoh raised his private altar in the temple of the sun, and heaped upon it meats and drinks after the fashion of Egypt; but it was the king alone that offered them to the sun, or that performed any other act of worship whatever. On the other hand, all blessings of every description were imparted to the people through the king, his queen, and his family.

* Vol. i. p. 339. † El Amarna, tomb 3.

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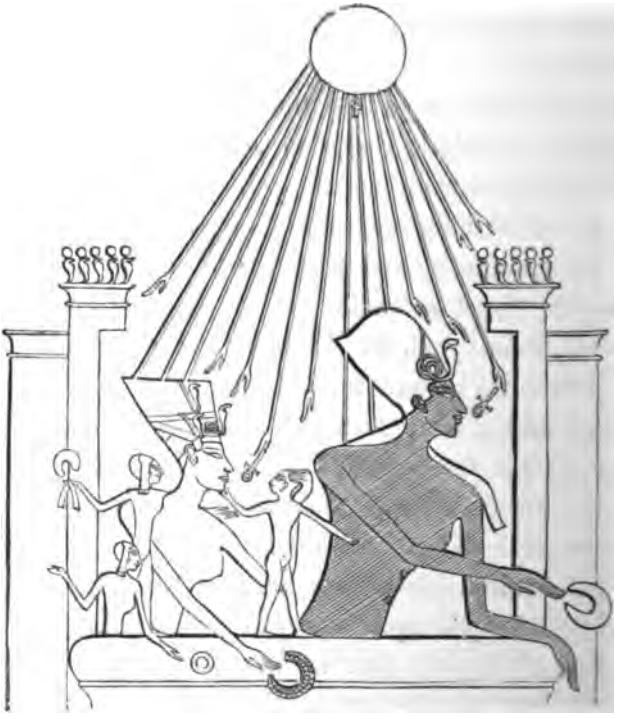
From them fell upon their subjects life, health, strength, as well as the ordinary kingly gifts of justice, honours, and wealth. This strange idea is significantly and beautifully set forth in a device from another tomb in the same cemetery.* AMENOPHIS, with his queen and their children, stand at a window or gallery of their palace, and are all engaged in throwing to their



subjects, who stand below with hands upraised to receive them, collars of distinction, vases, rings of money, symbols of life, and other blessings. These

* El Amarna, tomb 1.

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gifts the disc of the sun, which is represented above, is in the act of bestowing upon them.

The utter absence of the social affections, which so painfully characterizes the pictures of the life of man at all other epochs of the history of Ancient Egypt, is greatly mitigated in this single place. The king and the queen appear together on all occasions, and are frequently represented caressing their children, as in the instance before us. It is neither illogical nor improbable to refer this great moral improvement to the influence of the comparatively purer and more truthful doctrine regarding the divine existence, for which these sectarists contended.

The historical details in this brief episode in our history, are more than usually difficult to collect. The monuments show that AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten* had possession of all Thebes long enough to erase the name and reliefs of Amun from the walls of all existing temples on both sides the river, and from the sides of all the open and unfinished tombs in the vast cemetery of Gournou. This was the extent to which the disc-worshippers carried their mutilations of the idolatry they designed to destroy. Even these were made neatly, and with scrupulous endeavour to destroy the architectural effects as little as possible. All the other idolatrous devices and allusions that covered the walls they regarded as mere embellishments. Yet so rigid was their renunciation of the entire system, that in their own writing they abjure even the characters that allude to the old idols. Thus, in writing the word "mother," they rejected the ordinary orthography

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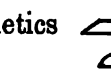
, because the vulture was the living symbol of the female idol *Maut*, the wife of Amun, using instead the simple phonetics  *mt*, as Lepsius rightly explains.*

AMENOPHIS had, moreover, possession of Thebes long enough to make some considerable progress with extensive additions to the temple of Karnak. These, as we have explained, were razed to their foundation by the Amonian fanatics HORUS and SETHOS I. It was assuredly by these zealots that all the great devastations of the historical monuments of Egypt were committed in every epoch. The temples of Thebes unite their testimony to this fact with the tombs of Middle Egypt and the ruins of Memphis, Heliopolis, and the entire Delta. Their utterly unsparing destructions and defacements have blotted out whole dynasties from our monumental history, and done more to render it obscure than all the remains of Egypt have since suffered from Persians, and Turks, and Arabs, because they were systematic and discriminative.

The temple at Soleb, at the southern extremity of Upper Nubia, and the rock of Djebel Silsili, both bear the name of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*, attesting to his possession of all that had ever been called Egypt to the southward. In them, however, as well as on his remains at Thebes, it is curious to trace the workings of the same mental process as that which afterwards led him to change his name in Upper Egypt. He founded the temple at Soleb, dedicating it to "the

* Denkmaler, p. 20.

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sun the lord of justice." This title he enclosed in the ring of MENES, and constituted it a filial hypostasis of the disc. It was afterwards assumed by AMENOPHIS-MEMNON as his name, first in both Egypts, and ultimately in Lower Egypt only. His coronation probably took place at Soleb. Neither here, nor at Djebel Silsili, nor at Thebes, are the rigid purism of the young AMENOPHIS for the disc-worship exhibited as on his later monuments. At Djebel Silsili, even the name of Amun-Re, as well as other idols, is associated with the disc in his act of worship, though it was afterwards erased; and the traces of the same comprehensive adoration may likewise be detected both in the fragments of Soleb and Thebes.

In his sixth year the young AMENOPHIS had conquered Memphis, and was quarrying the limestone of Tourrah for the blocks wherewith to build a temple to the disc in that city. The porphyry quarries of El Hamamat were in like manner in his possession. He even built a temple to the disc at Tanis, in the north-eastern extremity of the Delta. There cannot be a doubt that he had great success in Lower Egypt, either by war or treaty. The inscribed monuments of his reign declare this; the local remains confirm it. His queen was a daughter of Lower Egypt, doubtless of the Xoite Pharaoh. Her name was *Taitis*.

According to the monuments, as we are able to interpret them, the young AMENOPHIS never returned to Thebes from his northern expedition, but founded a noble city at Tel-el-Amarna, in Middle Egypt, on the eastern bank, in which he built a vast temple,

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sacred to the sun alone, and excluding all other gods. The ruins of this city are still amongst the most considerable in Egypt. The temple has, as usual, been razed to the ground by the Amonians, and the royal names are defaced even on the fallen fragments. The mountain range, in the immediate vicinity and for some miles both to the north and south of the city, is perforated with the tombs of the courtiers and princes of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*. They are many of them of great extent, and all covered with the pictures of the worship of the disc in his temple, and of the king and queen in their palace. An enormous amount of forced labour must therefore have been at the command of the king and his courtiers. The same fact also appears on the reliefs on the tombs. Canaanite and Cushite slaves are represented there in multitudes at work.

We have said that the subjects of the sculptures in these tombs are principally the worship of the king and queen by their subjects, and of the disc by the king and queen. In one instance, the king and queen drive each their own chariots to the temple, followed by the princesses their children (they had no sons), each also in her chariot. Their subjects of all ranks run or drive their chariots by the side of them. On another occasion the king is borne by his subjects to the temple on a portable throne or chair.

We have said that Taitis, the queen of AMENOPHIS, was a Lower Egyptian princess. This appears most strikingly in her contour, and unanswerably in her head-dress, which is invariably the crown of Lower

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Egypt. In one relief it is decorated with three golden *uræi*, or hooded snakes, the symbols of female divinity and royalty, denoting, doubtless, her pretence to the sovereignty of Upper, Middle,* and Lower Egypt.

AMENOPHIS must have reigned long and peacefully at Tel-el-Amarna over Middle and part of Lower Egypt. The ruins there require this; and his monuments have been found at many other localities in his dominions, besides those we have mentioned.† He seems to have founded Amarna in his fourth year.‡ A date of his twelfth year has also been read there.

The Middle Egyptian dynasty at Amarna did not long outlast the life of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*. The ruins and tombs of the city themselves tell of brief duration, notwithstanding their extent. The name but of a single successor has escaped the uniform mutilation which they have suffered everywhere from the Amonians; and of this there is but a single occurrence.§ The Lower Egyptian name of this king would probably have been written ENCHERIS.‖ His queen's name was *Atenrasis*, "daughter of the disc." The name of another queen has likewise been overpast by the mutilators in a few instances. As the daughter or sister of ENCHERIS, she seems to have succeeded him on the throne of Middle Egypt. Her name, *Taia*, we shall find important to link on the

* This division of the monarchy seems to have originated in the present schism.

† Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, ii. 76, &c.

‡ Leps. iii. 110 b. § El Amarna 6, iii. 99 a.

‖ "Sun of living creations."

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history of this obscure succession with that of the Theban Pharaohs, to which we now return.

There is, perhaps, no point with which we have hitherto engaged, involved in more hopeless obscurity than that of the fortunes of ARMAIS after his expulsion from Thebes by the disc-worshippers. There are, however, two monumental facts, by the aid of which some little light may be obtained towards its elucidation. He was certainly living, reigning in Egypt, and at peace with AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*, his conqueror, during the lifetime of the latter. This important fact appears on a slab found in the ruins of Amarna by Sir G. Wilkinson; on which AMENOPHIS makes offerings and intercessions for ARMAIS, who is expressly said to be living.* The other fact is of equal importance. ARMAIS was certainly the father of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, his immediate successor on the tablet of Abydos and all other hieroglyphic genealogies. This relationship is formally stated in the inscriptions on the eastern temple of Eilethya.† Now we shall presently find that the mother of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON was queen Taia or Tai, a highly-born personage, having an hereditary claim to the throne of so strong a character that she was for many years co-regent at Thebes with her son. In this personage, we can scarcely err in recognizing the daughter of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*, who, as we have just seen, came to the throne of Middle Egypt on the death of ENCHERIS, her brother. It would seem, therefore, to follow, upon monumental evidence, that ARMAIS, according to the prescription of

* Modern Egypt, ii. 73. † Leps. iii. 80. 6.

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his forefathers, healed the schism in the family of MENES, which had deprived him of the throne of Thebes, by marrying the daughter of his conqueror, who was, of course, his niece also,* and who, as we shall presently find, had been twice married before.

As to the extent and even the locality of the dominions of ARMAIS in the latter part of his reign, we are altogether in the dark. His name, on the sphinx of Ghizeh and on the temple at Alexandria, would seem to suggest that he may have been associated with the Xoite Pharaoh, like his ancestor THOTHMOSIS, in one of those friendly co-regencies which are so utterly inexplicable, nay, inconceivable, to modern notions, but which, nevertheless, we have found to exist in the family of MENES at all epochs of its eventful history.

One important deduction for the chronology of our history will be clearly made out from our inquiry, and cannot be too early stated. The son of ARMAIS survived the entire succession of the disc-worshippers, both at Amarna and Thebes, so that the whole of this interval of time is included in their two reigns.

THE DISC-WORSHIPPERS AT THEBES.

The expulsion of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten* from Thebes, was evidently a revolution or outbreak among his own followers and sectarists. On the ruins of the propylon

* The prohibited degrees seem not to have been acknowledged by the Hamites generally.

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of Karnak, his name is overwritten with those of two other pretenders in one or two instances.* It is impossible to say how long this anarchy lasted. It could not be of any long duration. Two disc-worshipping kings certainly reigned at Thebes for some considerable part of the interval now before us, in peace and comparative prosperity, as their monuments declare.

AI.

This was the royal name of the first husband of Tai, the daughter of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*. They frequently appear together in the tombs of Amarna; but Ai is here merely a courtier in the king's suite, writing his name like any other private individual. He appears to have been the foster-brother of the king.† It was probably this circumstance that procured him the high distinction of the hand of the princess royal; for Tai was the eldest daughter of AMENOPHIS, and AI was her first husband.

At the head of the armies of his royal father-in-law, AI expelled from Thebes and the rest of Upper Egypt the intruders who had usurped the sovereignty during

* This was ascertained by M. Prisse, who was present when the propylon was destroyed (*Wilkinson's Modern Egypt*, ii. 255).

† Amarna 1, where he is more than once entitled "son of the king's nurse" (Leps. iii. 105, &c.).

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his absence in Lower and Middle Egypt.* As a reward for this service, AMENOPHIS conferred upon him and his wife the joint sovereignty of the whole of the conquered district; commencing at Panopolis, which is but a few miles to the south of Amarna, where the name of AI in the ring of MENES frequently occurs in tombs, and extending from thence over all Upper Egypt and Nubia.

The monuments of the reign of AI and his queen are by no means numerous. Besides the rock-tombs of Panopolis, he seems to have been the first monarch to select the dreary ravine, now known as Biban-el-Malook, for his place of sepulture. His tomb and that of his wife's son, AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, are apart from the rest of the tombs of the kings, in an offshoot from the valley to the westward. The catacomb of AI is of no great extent. The negro countenance of the king is the most remarkable object in it.

Besides these, the names of AI and his queen have only been found engraven in a tablet on the cliffs on the eastern bank, immediately over against the rock-temple of Abu Simbel, in Nubia.

The temporizing policy of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten* in Thebes and Upper Egypt was still more widely applied by his son-in-law. Everywhere, save at Amarna, AI and his queen worship all the gods of Egypt indiscriminately.

The reign of AI was a very brief one. It is certain that he died young and childless. A tablet found at Abydos, and now in the Museum at Berlin, which is

* Above, p. 335.

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supposed by Lepsius to belong to his times, is dated the 1st of Choiak (the fourth month), in the fourth year of his reign. As the name of the king, however, is everywhere defaced on it, this is by no means certain.

CHEBRES—AMUN-TU-ENH.

The death of king AI was an event which his queen deemed by no means remediless; neither did she long indulge in the paroxysms of grief into which its first occurrence had doubtless plunged her. She immediately afterwards reappears on the monuments as the wife of his successor, whose name is thus written.

The Lower Egyptian ring of this name, *chru-nb-re*, "the sun, the lord of all creatures," seems to be that which is written CHEBRES in the lists, and made that of one of the kings of the 18th dynasty. His name in Upper Egypt is a very remarkable one. It reads AMUN-TU-ENH, and means "living hater of Amun," clearly denoting that his zeal against the idol of Thebes was of a far more decided character than that of the first husband of queen Tai. The memorials of the reign of CHEBRES are of a very imposing character, though confined to Thebes only, and to but two of her monuments. His is the first name that appears, as one of the constructors of the palace of Luxor. It is probable that it was at first dedicated to the disc of the sun, like the additions of AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten* to the neighbouring palace of Karnak, which is also on the same bank of the river. But the sun-worship at

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Luxor was certainly not of a character so offensive to the Amonians as that at Karnak; for the constructions of CHEBRES have escaped the utter razure which overthrew those of his father-in-law at Karnak. His Lower Egyptian name is even read unmutilated to this day on the ruins of Luxor.

The one remaining monument of the reign of CHEBRES is a very beautiful tomb in the cemetery of Gournou, in western Thebes, constructed by a prince of the blood, exercising vice-regal power in Ethiopia *i.e.*, "the royal son of Cush." The name of this prince was *Hai* or *Hu*. His countenance is decidedly Ethiopian. He exercised the function of mayor or constable of the southern palace of CHEBRES, doubtless Luxor, which is situated on the extreme southern border of eastern Thebes. The forced labours of many gangs of workmen from the south, and of some skilled artists from Lower Egypt and Canaan, were at the command of CHEBRES; the prince Hai had the charge of them, and, doubtless as a compensation for his oversight, was allowed to employ them in the construction of his own tomb, where they are represented in vast numbers conducted by him into the presence of his royal master, and bringing along with them presents of golden vases and other objects, together with precious stones. They and their gifts were most probably the dower of the queen. The Lower Egyptian and Canaanite artists, in this tomb, are dressed in rich shawls wrapped tightly round their persons, but they are all extremely ugly and deformed. The peculiarities of

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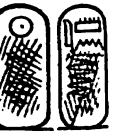
their complexions, and the colour of their hair and eyes, are likewise faithfully represented. It is, moreover, very satisfactory to find that these light-complexioned tributaries are everywhere entitled throughout the tomb, "the degraded race of Arvad."

The black races from the south fare much better at the hands of the artists of prince Hai than the Lower Egyptians. They are free from personal deformity, and their countenances retain their genuine peculiarities without caricature. We cannot help suspecting that Ethiop or Negro artists were employed upon this part of the tomb.

The reign of CHEBRES is said in the lists to have lasted for twelve years. There are no known monuments which illustrate the nature of his religious opinions. It is evident, however, that they were by no means so offensive to Egyptian orthodoxy as those of his father-in-law; for, notwithstanding the direct insult to Amun implied in both his names, they are nevertheless allowed to remain on the tombs of Gournou, with the following ingenious mutilation, which, it will be observed, leaves him king of Egypt, while it thoroughly purges the heterodoxy of both rings.



Our strangely yet unavoidably complicated narrative must now return once more to ARMAIS, and to his brother AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten*. We believe that on the death of CHEBRES, his queen Tai took a third husband. That husband was her father's elder brother, ARMAIS; and they reigned together at Thebes for some years. The monuments of ARMAIS there certainly require a

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longer sojourn in that capital than the seven years only that had elapsed when he fled from thence to Lower Egypt, before the conquering arms of the disc-worshippers. His name is frequently written there co-temporarily, as the beginner and carrier forward of many constructions. It is by this strange and revolting zigzag of adventures and intermarriages that the monumental indications of his reign can alone be made into history. It was probably during the lifetime of ARMAIS that TAI his queen in her own right ascended the throne of Middle Egypt at Amarna. We have already discovered that she reigned alone for some time.

AMENOPHIS-MEMNON.

By far the most important circumstance for the history of Egypt connected with the marriage of ARMAIS with queen TAI, was the birth of their son, by whom this schism was healed, and the Theban throne rose once more to the ascendant, invested with a power and splendour unknown at any former period. The name conferred upon this king at his birth was strictly in harmony with the doctrine of the disc-worship. It reads, "the sun all just." It was, as we have said, the attribute which AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten* had enclosed in the ring of MENES, and constituted the filial deity of the temple of Soleb, in Upper Nubia. On the first coronation of this young prince, which was very probably at the time of his birth, this was his only name in all Egypt; and on the Upper Egyptian monuments

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of him at this epoch, it is repeated in two and sometimes in three rings, denoting, doubtless, his dominion over the three Egypts, *i.e.*, the Lower, Middle, and Upper countries. But, at some subsequent period of his reign, it was most carefully erased everywhere from his Upper Egyptian ring, the blank being overwritten with the discarded name of his grandfather, AMENOPHIS . The history involved in this change will presently appear.

Queen TAI, the mother of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, was one of the remarkable women of our monumental history. The memoirs of her already collected will have prepared our readers for this statement. The death of her uncle and husband ARMAIS probably took place close upon the time of the birth of their son. She was too familiar with such bereavements to allow it for one moment to interfere either with the active performance of her public duties, or with the vigorous pursuit of her private interests and personal aggrandisement. She erected monuments, built in the name of her son, it is true, but really setting forth the glory of the illustrious mother of whom he had the honour to be the issue. These monuments are, of their kind, some of the most notable in Egypt.

The name of this lady will now require explanation. *Tai* means "a ship." It is retained in the Coptic texts under the form of ϫοι,* *navis*. The group is often determined by the picture of a ship. This female name (like *Hathor* and *Eve*, "house")

* The sounds of ⲧ and ϫ were closely allied to each other.

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seems to have concealed an especial allusion to gestation and prolificness. She has taken a very clever advantage of this allusion on one of the greatest monuments of her reign. Her first act, on the death of ARMAIS, seems to have been the resumption of the works of construction of the palace-temple of Luxor, in eastern Thebes, on which her second husband, CHEBRES, had made a beginning. She was *enceinte* of her son on the death of his father, and this circumstance suggested to her the idea of making the child that should be born an incarnation of the filial deity of her new temple. The pantheism of her two first husbands very probably suggested the change of name which she has assumed in the birth-chamber of this temple. She there appears as *maut-m-tai*, *i.e.*, "the goddess Maut [the wife of the first Theban Amun] in the ship."

Under this her new name she is worshipped as a goddess, and made throughout the palace the second wife or concubine of the god to whom it was dedicated, who, in the first instance, was probably Re-Athom; but his reliefs and name were afterwards erased everywhere, to make room for those of the Coptic Amun, to whom the site had been first dedicated by AMENEMES. To all appearance, this old palace of Luxor, which is one of the great constructions of Thebes, was completed by this enterprising queen during the minority of her son.

Another temple of great beauty was built by TAI, in the name of her son, and dedicated to her own worship, at Sedeinga, on the borders of Ethiopia. In

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the inscriptions on its ruins, she is repeatedly said to be living, though she is represented as a sphinx, and receives acts of worship.

During her son's minority she seems to have used both her names indifferently; but when his wife took her secular name of *Tai*, she thenceforward permanently assumed her name in religion, *Maut-em-tai*.

This great queen appears to have been long-lived, and for many years to have taken an active part in the government of Egypt.

We have said that TAI is the last royal name that appears in the tombs of Amarna, and have assumed that she succeeded to the Middle Egyptian throne during the life-time of ARMAIS, her last husband. We now discover that she must have long ruled there, as she long survived him. Her mode of dealing with the disc-worshippers was characterised by the prudence and policy which are strongly marked in all these memorials of her. She changed nothing in religion on her accession. The disc- and monarch-worship proceeded as in her father's life-time. With the same purpose, when the clamours of Upper Egypt for conformity to the prescription regarding the names of kings could no longer be resisted, she inscribed in the second ring of her son's royal title, the same epithets that her father had rejected. This new name, therefore, while perfectly satisfactory to the Upper Egyptians, would give as little offence as possible to the disc-worshippers of Amarna. This most politic change had been meditated by the queen from the first. The Lower Egyptian possessions of her husband of course came to their

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son immediately on his death. She then inscribed his name, in the first and second years of his age and reign, under the form to which she long afterwards altered it at Thebes.

These remarkable entries occur on the rock of Tourra, the quarry of Memphis.* They commemorate the hewing of stone from thence, in order to make additions to the temples of several of the primitive gods of the Delta. Amongst them, Amun at Peramoun,† Horus in the desert,‡ Kneph or Nu at Thmuis,§ Hercules at Sebennytus,‖ Anubis at Lycopolis,¶ and Hathor at Heliopolis,** are still legible, while many other divine names and effigies have perished. So that they farther illustrate the policy of queen TAI in the Lower Egyptian portion of the dominions of her son, as well as in the rest of his now extensive kingdom. It was pre-eminently peaceful and conciliatory. She seems to have performed acts of piety and devotion, in the name of her son, to the gods of every city in the Xoite kingdom. The fruits of this wise policy were very abundant. There was full peace on the northern frontier of the kingdom during the whole of the long reign of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, her son; so that he enjoyed, undisturbed and unquestioned, the sovereignty over the whole valley between Thebes and Memphis, and probably of some considerable territory in the Delta also; a possession in Egypt

* Lepsius iii. 71. † Vol. i. p. 340. ‡ Ibid. p. 386.
§ Vol. i. p. 340. ‖ Ibid. p. 343. ¶ Ibid. 342.
** Ibid. 343.

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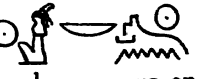
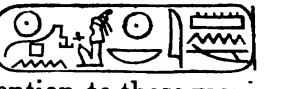
Proper far greater than any to which the most fortunate of his predecessors had ever attained.

The same wise and considerate deference to the scruples even of a minority of her subjects, also appears in the reliefs of queen TAI on the palace of Luxor. It is quite clear, from the monuments of the disc-worshipping kings at Thebes, that their distinguishing dogmas were by no means relished by the majority of the inhabitants. A partial modification in favour of the disc was all that even AMENOPHIS-*bekenaten* could effect there. Nevertheless, there certainly was a party who saw the vanity of the popular idolatry, and favoured the disc-worship. She endeavoured to meet their views by a somewhat remarkable variation in the mode of writing her son's names upon the walls. It is thus inscribed on various parts of the building, whereas, on all other monuments, the same name is written thus. This enormous enlargement of the disc of the sun was evidently intentional on the part of the constructors. It appears still more conspicuously in a surcharged ring on the architrave of the lesser temple, "(MEMNON) *stp-en-ra*, approved of the disc."  The following compound title of honour also occurs on the fourth column of the hypostyle hall of the same vast series of constructions, "MEMNON beloved of Amun, the  approved of this disc." We call attention to these manifest exaggerations of the disc in the old palace of Luxor, because, though very obvious, they seem to have escaped

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the notice of all other students of the ruins of Thebes. Even the artists of Lepsius have over-passed them. We see not what other motive can have suggested it than the deference of TAI to her disc-worshipping subjects, to which we have assigned it.

A long and prosperous reign was the happy result of the prudent and conciliatory policy of TAI, to her son AMENOPHIS-MEMNON. At full peace with all his northern neighbours, he had the opportunity of directing the whole force of his kingdom against his southern enemies Phut and Cush, whom all the efforts of his ancestors had hitherto failed in thoroughly subduing. At Soleb, on the southern limit of Nubia, he made large additions to the sacred building, which, as we have said, was founded by his father-in-law, and dedicated to the name afterwards given to him. He covered the plinths of the columns with the effigies and names of negro prisoners of war, representing, we need not explain, tribes that he had subdued, and localities that he had captured. Whatever be the amount of literal truth by which this boast was supported, the remains of the constructions of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON plainly testify that he had at his command an enormous amount of forced labour. The intermixture of northern captives with the negroes on these pillars, we assume to be mere ostentation. They were doubtless slaves, misdemeanants, and prisoners of war, purchased in the marts of Lower Egypt.

At this point, Soleb, the southern conquests of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, seem to have terminated. It is true that his name has been read on remains found at

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the foot of Mount Barkal, which is considerably further to the south. Such are Lord Prudhoe's lions now in the British Museum, from the inscriptions on which we have already quoted.* Still more beautiful specimens of art are the two colossal rams, brought by Dr. Lepsius from the same locality, and now in the Berlin Museum. But their discoverer conjectures, and with high probability, that all these remains originally decorated the temple of Soleb, and that they were removed to Mount Barkal long afterwards by the Ethiopian king, who has inscribed his name on the lions.†

The remains of Soleb show it to have been a noble structure of considerable extent.

Like those of many of his predecessors and successors, the great constructions of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON possess a character of their own. He seems to have concentrated his energies upon a few localities, and there to have produced works exceeding in vastness, durability, and beauty, those of all the kings who had gone before him, though his name is by no means to be found in so many places as those of some of his predecessors. Neither does it appear that he followed their precedent in carrying forward the great temples already begun, either in Thebes or any other city, save those of his father and father-in-law. His name does not occur at Karnak, or at Medinet Abou, or at Asasif, though we have read there so many of his ancestors, and shall find there, likewise, the names of a long line of his successors. The memorials of the reign of AMENOPHIS-

* Above, p. 229, Note. † Letter xxiii.

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MEMNON in Nubia, consist of the temple of Soleb alone, which was begun by his father-in-law. In Upper Egypt he completed the small temple of Eilethya on the eastern bank, of which ARMAIS, his father, appears from the inscriptions to have been the founder. At Thebes, his name occurs only on the old palace of Luxor, on the eastern bank; and on the western bank, on the ruins of a vast temple in the centre of the plain, having an axis of 1800 feet, that is, equal in dimensions to the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. The two huge colossi on the plain, originally 70 feet high, once sate before the propyla of this enormous construction. The left hand figure is covered, as we have said, with Greek inscriptions, written there by persons who professed to have heard it utter sounds at sun-rise. Every other part of this temple has been studiously and systematically razed to the ground. The stones have been buried in the soil, and its site has now been ploughed over for a series of ages. As no such fate has befallen any of the smaller and less substantial temples of earlier ages, and in its immediate vicinity, we certainly infer from hence that this destruction has been systematic and deliberate, suggested by some religious animosity, the key to which we will presently endeavour to find out. It was only by the aid of extensive excavation that Champollion ascertained that this temple had been built by AMENOPHIS-MEMNON with negro prisoners of war.*

There is scarcely a king of Egypt whose constructions give such unequivocal proofs of the peace and

* Texte.

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prosperity which Egypt enjoyed in his reign as AMENOPHIS-MEMNON; yet are all the memorials of him characterized by the same limitation as to the places of their occurrence. A proof of the high state of art is afforded by the tomb of the prince *Sha-em-hai*,* who was one of his court, and the collector of the water-tribute or dues paid to the king for the sluices on the whole of the Nile, "from the borders of Ethiopia unto the waters of Naharain." He is represented in the act of laying the account of this stewardship at the feet of MEMNON, who is seated on a gorgeous throne. The total amounts to 333,333,300 measures of corn, which we can only assume to denote a quantity immeasurable by the then existing means of calculation. For extreme delicacy of finish, and profuse splendour of decoration, this tomb far surpasses any other monument in Egypt.†

Prince Sha-em-hai seems, from a date in his tomb, to have died in the 30th year of his royal master's reign.

Another tomb in the same cemetery, not far from that of prince Hai, belonged to one of the military chiefs of ARMAIS, the father of MEMNON. It was evidently begun early in his reign, and probably not completed before his return and death, as the name of Amun is barred over throughout it. This personage enjoyed, among other offices, that of superintendent of a

* Gournou, tomb 8, Lepsius.

† See Lepsius iii. 76, 77. But even these plates, though beautifully executed, fail in conveying a sufficient impression of the magnificence of the original.

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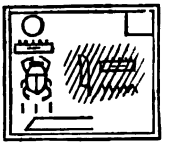
great temple to Amun, in western Thebes, founded by ARMAIS. We believe this to have been the destroyed temple on the plain, on the ruins of which his son's name has been found.



Another of the great officers of MEMNON, named *Muthis*, held the bridle of the king's horse, and was also superintendent of the royal plantations, and chief of the menagerie. The plantations were partly groves of sycomore trees, which surrounded the temples, and partly vines on trellises. The papyrus reed was also grown in the channels that watered the plantations.* Lions, panthers, giraffes, and apes of several kinds, were the creatures kept alive in the menagerie of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON. All these particulars we learn from the inscriptions and reliefs in this beautiful and interesting tomb.

Other tombs of the princes of the court of MEMNON also occur in the cemetery of Gournou. The extent of their excavation, and the beauty of their reliefs, show plainly the great amount of forced labour in Egypt, and the prosperity that prevailed in their days. The same fact is stated directly, though not more significantly, by the representations of vast troops of foreign musicians, dancers, and gladiators, on the walls of some of them, who are performing for the amusement of these haughty nobles.

It is strange that a king, all of whose monuments tell thus unequivocally of a peaceful, quiet, and most prosperous reign, should, nevertheless, write himself

* *Infra*, p. 357.

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on one of the last columns in the hypostyle hall at Luxor, which apparently was one of the latest and last works of his reign,

"golden hawk, whose scymetar smites terribly the Shepherds, who conquers with his bow." Such, however, were the modes of thought that prevailed in his days. The proper element of Pharaoh was the battle-field, and the only prosperity he could confer upon Egypt was victory over her enemies.

A tablet at Assouan is dated the 5th year of the reign of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON. A papyrus at Turin bears the date of his 25th year. Another tablet, near Philæ, was executed in his 35th year; and two, at the copper-mines of Sarbut-el-Chadim, on the Red Sea, commemorate his 36th year. Amid the confusion of the lists, it is impossible to say whether his reign lasted for 31 or 40 years.

The tomb of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON is in the small western valley which also contains that of his maternal connection AI. It is of vast dimensions, being a vault of more than 352 feet in total length. But the sculptures with which it had once been decorated have been entirely removed, and directions to the artists for new designs have been written on the walls in black and red ink. The writing and drawing bear a striking resemblance to those in the "Book of the Dead," on papyrus or linen. This is a further confirmation of our deduction regarding the religious creed of this

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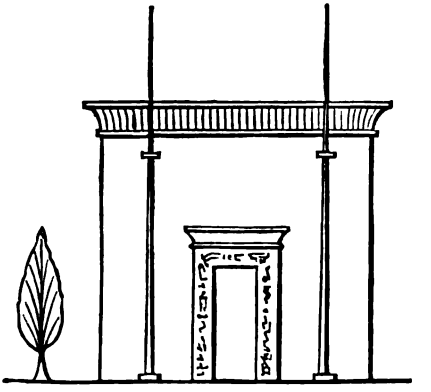
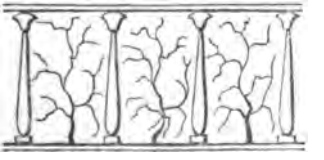
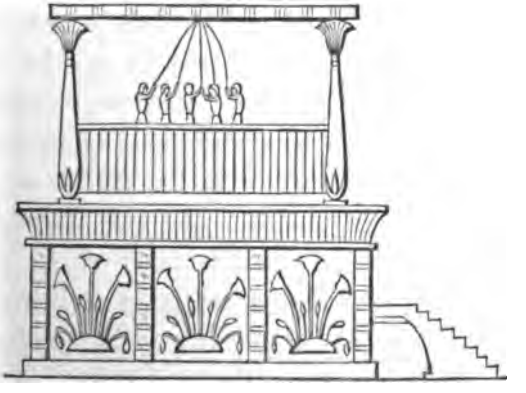


GROVE OF SYCOMORE.



VINES ON A TRELLIS.



PAPYRUS REEDS IN CHANNELS: ABOVE, A WINE-PRESS.

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king. It underwent many changes, and at length settled into the Theban orthodoxy; but he was then at so advanced an age, that the directions to the artists for the right decorations had only been written on the defaced walls of his tomb when he died.

We have already hinted that the creed of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON and his mother was too comprehensive for the fanatical spirit that domineered over the votaries of Amun in his days.

He himself was to the full as liberal as his mother in his concessions to this spirit in his subjects. All the remains of his reign, both in eastern and western Thebes, have undergone extensive erasures, both of the names and effigies of obnoxious modifications of the solar god, and everywhere the blanks are overwritten with the names, the attributes, and the pictures of the two Theban impersonations of Amun. This kind of concession seems to have been in progress throughout the whole of his reign. It was by no means confined to the palace of Luxor. It was also applied to all the reliefs and inscriptions that had yet been recovered in the great temple of the plain of western Thebes. It is very conspicuous on the tablets on the backs of the thrones of the two colossi. He even extended these changes to the mythic devices in the tombs of his princes. So very carefully and thoroughly have these erasures been made, that the expunged names and figures are completely gone; but the unaltered contexts of the inscriptions point to the inference that they were the gods, Re-Athom and Hercules, that were thus expunged. Nevertheless, he

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certainly failed in this politic endeavour to heal a religious feud. The repressed fanaticism of the Amonians burst forth with tenfold violence at his death, and Egypt was once more convulsed with a religious civil war.

It is a point not without interest to the history of mankind, that during the long reign of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON the Xoite kingdom in the Delta remained at peace with the Theban crown.

HORUS.

This is the king of whom Manetho writes in his account of his second Shepherd invasion, that "he had seen the gods."* Such an ascription prepares us for some great action in the course of his reign, especially grateful to the Theban priests of Amun, by whom the temple-records were kept. Accordingly, we have found that it was he who began the utter destruction of the monuments of the disc-worshipping kings at Karnak, building with the stones the temple of Amun. We believe that the great temple in the western plain perished in the same outbreak of fanaticism. There cannot be a doubt that a fierce persecution of the disc-worshippers, of all modifications of belief, and their expulsion from Thebes, would also be a part of this movement.

The name of king HORUS is thus written in hieroglyphics. It reads, Lower Egypt, *sl-chru-re*, "sun adorning creation," *stp-n-re*, "approved of the sun;" Upper Egypt, *har-nm-hbi*, "HORUS in [his] panegyry," *amn-mei*, "the

* See vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

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beloved of Amun." It will be noticed that the practice of surcharging the name-rings with two titles is now becoming the fashion with the kings of Egypt. We shall find the number of them to increase as we proceed with our history.

HORUS is the immediate successor of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, on the tablet of Abydos (B 47, 48), in the procession at the Memnonium and in all other hieroglyphic genealogies of his race. The succession is therefore certain. He was likewise born heir to the throne; for he is frequently represented as a child suckled by the goddesses. These, however, are the only monumental indications of his paternity. Far from acknowledging himself the son of MEMNON, he overwrites his name with his own. He, in the same manner, blots out the name of CHEBRES. On one fragment at Thebes, he writes himself the son of THOTHMOSIS, his fourth predecessor.* This seems to lead to the inference that the tolerance of his father and predecessor was in his eyes heterodox and abominable, which is exactly the conclusion at which we had arrived, both from his destruction of the works of his grandfather at Karnak, and from the extraordinary piety ascribed to him in the lists.

The evidence, therefore, that HORUS was a fierce fanatic against the disc-worshippers is, we submit, very strong though indirect.

There is but a single monument of the reign of HORUS whence it would have been easy directly to infer this great characteristic of his reign, and that is the

* Leps. Abt. iii. Bl. 119.

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fragment of a colossal group in black granite, representing HORUS and his daughter seated on a throne, on the back of which is engraven, in hieroglyphics, an inscription to which we long ago called the attention of our readers on account of its identity with that on the Rosetta stone.* This beautiful monument is in the Turin Museum. Perfect liberty to copy is conceded to all visitors by the excellent regulations of this unequalled collection of the remains of Ancient Egypt. It is therefore much to be regretted that no copy of it has been published as yet. Our own short stay at Turin only permitted us to verify the sketch of its contents, which was published by the brother of Champollion,† on his authority after his death. The text with a translation would have been more satisfactory than the brief epitome, which is all that we have it in our power to present to our readers.

The inscription commences with the praises of HORUS, who has received gifts from Neith, his mother, and from Amun-Re, king of the gods. He is styled, in manifest allusion to his own name, "living image of HORUS the son of ISIS, who has sustained him and given him the sovereignty over Lower Egypt." This must refer to some exploit against the disc-worshippers, which is compared to the plunder of the Busirides by MENCHERES, impersonate as HORUS.‡ It is well worthy of note that MENCHERES assumes the hawk of HORUS as a part of his name, and that MELANERES, his successor does the same.§ These substitutions were

* Vol. i. p. 51. † L' Univers, Egypte Ancienne, p. 321.
‡ Vol. i. p. 335. § Above, p. 109.

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doubtless the precedent which was followed when his name was conferred upon HORUS. It is clear that the exploit must have been performed to the northward of his capital, or the parallel with the god HORUS could not have been maintained. But we shall find that on the monuments of king HORUS, he was engaged in wars only against negro foreigners. We have seen, moreover, that the first promoters of the disc-worship were negroes, and gloried in the personal peculiarities of the sons of Phut and Cush. It seems therefore to follow, from this assemblage of facts, that the reliefs on the constructions of king HORUS representing negro prisoners, are mere caricatures; and the persons whose subjugation was intended by them were his own disc-worshipping subjects in Thebes and Middle Egypt, in exactly the same spirit of bitter partizanship as that which misnamed the Lower Egyptians *Arvadites*, in the temple decorations of his ancestors and successors. The circumstance that the name of HORUS has only been found in the single locality of Abahuda* in all Nubia and Ethiopia, and that the monument there was executed while he was an infant, and makes no allusion whatever to foreign conquests, strongly confirms our surmise. Had king HORUS really fought with the negroes, he must have marched through Nubia; and, had he done so, assuredly he would have recorded some memorial there of his wars. No such exists in all Nubia. We conclude from thence that he did not conquer the negro nations, and that the prisoners represented on his monuments are disc-worshippers.

† Or Djebel Addeh, as the French geographers name it.

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These boasted successes of HORUS to the northward of his capital, are in striking conformity with the Rosetta inscription, where the great action ascribed to EPIPHANES, on account of which the decree was passed in his favour, was the taking of the city of Lycopolis in the eastern Delta (Greek ll. 20—24), which exploit is expressly compared to a similar one performed by Horus the son of Isis (l. 26). The Turin inscription proceeds to enumerate other benefits also conferred upon Egypt by Pharaoh HORUS, whom it compares to the gods Phra, Thoth, and Phtha.* For these reasons the decree prescribes that the statue of king HORUS, together with that of his daughter, shall be placed in a most honourable position in the temples of Egypt.† It is, moreover, decreed, that peculiar divine honours shall be paid to Pharaoh HORUS on certain appointed days, all of which are already set apart for the god Ra.‡ The titles especially decreed to the king, and which are engraven upon the shrines which contain his image, are all carefully enumerated.§ It is also decreed that similar images shall be inaugurated in all the temples of Egypt, and different orders of the priesthood are charged with the religious worship of these royal images.‖ The many points of accordance between these two texts render it in no degree doubtful that the one has served as the model upon which

* See Rosetta, ll. 9—21, vol. i. pp. 54, 55.
† Ros. ll. 41—46, hieroglyphics, ll. vi.—viii.
‡ Ros. ll. 46—50, hieroglyphics, ll. x.—xii.
§ Ros. ll. 42—45, hieroglyphics, ll. viii.—x.
‖ Ros. ll. 40, 49—51, hieroglyphics, ll. xii. xiii.

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the other was composed. The object of the two inscriptions was therefore the same. HORUS, like PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, was worshipped as a god during his life-time in all the temples of Egypt, on account of his exploits to the northward of his dominions. In this, his apotheosis, he followed the precedent of his ancestors, MENCHERES and MELANERES, in assuming the name and attributes of the son of Osiris.

The identification of HORUS with Ra (the sun) on this sculpture, renders it all but certain that it was found by Drovetti beneath the sands that cover the whole of the site of the palace-temple of Luxor, and that it long stood within its precinct as one of its conspicuous decorations.

In the same magnificent collection is another group in crystallized calcareous stone, much resembling the rock of Beni-hassan. It consists of two figures. That to the right is Amun-Re, king of the gods, with his ordinary head-dress and attributes, seated on a throne. This figure is colossal, and more than eight feet high from the top of the feather to the base of the throne. Beside him stands king HORUS, with his right hand resting on the shoulder of the god. He is as a child, about half the height of his mythic parent. The expressions of calm majesty in the god, and of dignified yet implicit confidence in the king, are brought out with much artistic skill. The same art appears both in the costume and in the muscular development of the figures. They are minutely and highly elaborated. This very fine group was likewise discovered at Luxor, in all probability. It agrees with all other indications

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of the reign of HORUS, in commemorating his extreme devotion to the god Amun.

At Karnak, on the same bank of the Nile, Lepsius discovered a large relief of king HORUS on one of the gateways of that range of palaces. The bust of a statue of the same king was also found by him in the ruins of Medinet Abou, on the opposite bank.*

These are all the monuments of HORUS at Thebes.

The monuments of HORUS which occur in Egypt without the walls of the city of Thebes, are confined to two localities, both a considerable distance to the southward of that metropolis. At Djebel Addeh, or Abahuda, immediately opposite to Abu Simbel, a small temple has been excavated in the rock that rises almost perpendicularly from the edge of the river, and dedicated to the god Thoth, by HORUS, most probably at the very commencement of his reign; for, in one of the principal sculptures, is a relief representing him as an infant suckled by the goddess Anoukis, in the presence of her husband Knouphis or Noh, the grand tutelary divinities of the entire valley of the Nile to the southward of the limits of Egypt, as well as of the southern limit itself.

The god Horus, under many impersonations, is constantly introduced in the reliefs of this small temple, in entire confirmation of our surmise as to the origin of the name of its founder. Expressions of devotion to Amun of Thebes are likewise most profusely scattered over its hieroglyphic inscriptions; and the locality itself is named in hieroglyphics, *amn-hri-ht*, "Amun in

* Abt. iii. Bl. 112.

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the heart." So clear is it that the devotion of HORUS to Amun procured for him the high character for piety conferred upon him by the Theban priesthood.

The much mutilated reliefs of this temple have been covered with mud and stucco by the Copt Christians, who have painted thereon the Egyptian cross, St. George on horseback, and the other ordinary decorations of the interior of a Coptic church. It is far from improbable that, when this part of Egypt became Christian, the last faint shadows of the old superstition in the minds of the inhabitants in the vicinity still clung to the name and memories of the deified king who had founded this little temple, and that their new teachers took advantage of this, as was far too frequently the case in the third and fourth centuries.

At Djebel Silsili, in Upper Egypt, HORUS has inscribed his name as the founder of the magnificent cavern-temple hewn in the red sandstone rock that there crosses the bed of the Nile. This excavation is of great extent, and in the form of a corridor or gallery running parallel to the river, the original door of entrance being about the centre of it. As this building material is common in the constructions that succeed the times of HORUS, and as it was seldom used in those of the preceding epochs, it seems probable that HORUS was the first to discover its excellent qualities, and to work the quarries extensively.

On the western wall of this *spéos*, or cavern-temple, is a relief which has been often described, representing a triumphal procession to celebrate a victory obtained over the Cushites or black races, wherein HORUS, seated

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on a portable throne or palanquin, is carried in procession like the image of a god, and worshipped as a god by priests who burn incense before him. The fan-bearers, and all the other accessories of the exodus of a god from his shrine, are present in this relief.

The pageant was borrowed by HORUS from the disc-worshippers, and introduced by him into the ceremonial of Egypt upon their precedent. Yet did he excavate this shrine, and quarry the rock adjacent, by the forced labours of prisoners, his own subjects, whose only crime seems to have been their adherence to the tenets of his maternal great-grandfather; for it is in this vast excavation that the disc-worshipping prisoners caricatured as negroes are represented. We have already alluded to this scene. It is, we believe, quite peculiar to it, that though the prisoners are represented bound in torturing postures and suffering all the other ordinary indignities of a triumph, yet that no battle precedes it. They are merely seized, bound, and dragged into the presence of Pharaoh, by the officers of his court.* This circumstance, we submit, strongly supports our surmise that these unfortunates were really the victims of a religious persecution.

The lists assign to the reign of HORUS a duration of 36 or 37 years. We give it on their authority. We are without monumental data wherewith to verify or contradict it.

The German arrangement of the chronology of Egypt makes HORUS the last monarch of the 18th dynasty, whose name is chronicled in the legitimate

* Leps. Abt. iii. Bl. 121, 122.

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succession of the Pharaohs. We apprehend that the ancient order would be more strictly observed were the 18th dynasty to close with the name of his son and successor, *Rames-su* ("the sun is his parent"), the founder of the 19th. His name stands the last but one in the lists. The last is a second AMENOPHIS, probably MEMNON. It may have been *bekenaten*, who, having reigned in eastern Thebes, was legitimately entitled to a place there, notwithstanding his heterodoxy, but was put the last for this reason. It may have been for the same reason that the disc-worshipping king, CHEBRES, also appears in the lists. He had some title to the distinction, and an additional real king was too important to the end so steadily kept in view by the compilers of them to be lightly omitted.

Assuming RAMESSU to be the RAMESSES of the lists, and the last monarch of the 18th dynasty, we should restore the monuments to very tolerable correspondence with the lists in this place; for these last make the first king of the 19th dynasty to have been SETHOS, and the hieroglyphic name of the son and successor of Ramessu is SETHEI, which is doubtless the same. So hopeless, however, and inextricable, is the confusion which has befallen them from many causes, that it seems of little importance to disturb the present and received arrangement, for the purpose of any apparent conformity with one or two particulars. We therefore assume at once the usual form, and give here the summary of the Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty.

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Hieroglyphics.	Manetho.	Years of Reign.			
		Africanus.	Joseph.	Euseb.	Armn.
	Acherres [Amenophis II.] (son of Thothmosis)	32	omitted.	omitted.	omitted.
	Armais [Thothmosis IV.] (son of Acherres)	5	4 (Monts 7 years.)	5	5
	Amenophis-Memnon [Amenophis III.] (son of Armais)	31 or 40	31 or 40	31 or 40	31 or 40
	Horus (son of Memnon)	37	36	36	28
		105 or 114	71 or 80	72 or 81	64 or 73

It will appear at a glance, from our examination of the existing monuments, that the reign of Armais in this list is much too short, and that of Horus much too long. We have also discovered, and abundantly, that the former would not fail to have rendered himself obnoxious to the keepers of the archives of Egypt, both by his misfortunes and his temporizing with the disc-worshippers; while the latter was their especial favourite, on account of his zeal for Amun. These we believe to have been the motives which induced the

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Theban priesthood to assign to ARMAIS the short reign of his grandson, in order that (without disturbing the sum at the foot of the list) they might confer upon HORUS the distinction of a long one. We have shown from the monuments that ARMAIS must have had a long, though turbulent and unfortunate, reign; whereas HORUS, on the same unerring authority, evidently died young; the limestone group at Turin being doubtless an act of worship dedicated to him after death.

The omission of ACHERRES in three copies of the lists is a blunder which may be accounted for, by his being confounded with his predecessor ACHENCHERES.

The actual lapse of time, during which these four Pharaohs reigned in Egypt, again approaches nearer to a century than any other round number by which we can express its proximate value. We therefore arrive at this result. The ten successive kings, who composed the 18th dynasty, reigned over Egypt for about 200 or 205 years.

Our readers are aware, that during the greater part of the reign of ARMAIS, and probably during some considerable portion of the interval assigned to AMENOPHIS-MEMNON also, two lines of schismatic and disc-worshipping kings were likewise reigning, both at Thebes and Amarna. The compilers of the lists have taken advantage of this circumstance, and have dexterously mingled the legitimate and schismatic kings together, all in succession; thus making the 18th dynasty to have consisted of 17 successive kings, reigning over Egypt for 333 years.

We give here a copy of the Greek list of the 18th

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dynasty, placing against the names of each of the legitimate kings (or sons of AMOSIS), the number of his name on plane B of the tablet of Abydos.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITAN (THEBAN) KINGS.

	GREEK.	MONUMENTS.	No. AT ABYDOS.	
1	AMOSIS	*aah-ms*	40.	
2	CHEBROS	*chrp-chra*	41.	
3	AMENOPHIS	*amn-htp*		Upper Egyptian name of Chebros.
4	AMENSES	*amn-st*		Misplaced.
5	MISAPHRIS	*msha-shephra*	42.	
6	ACHENCHERES	*aa-chru-n-ra*	43.	
7	MISPHRAGMOUTHOSIS			Re-entry of AMOSIS.
8	TUTHMOSIS	*tt-ms*	44.	
9	AMENOPHIS	*amn-htp*	47.	Called also *Memnon*.
10	HORUS	*hr*	48.	
11	ACHERRES	*aa-chru-ra*	45.	
12	RATHOS			Disc-worshipper; perhaps AI.
13	CHEBRES	*chru-nb-ra*		"
14	ACHERRES			Re-entry of 11.
15	ARMAIS		46.	Expelled from Egypt by his brother —(*Eusebius*).
16	RAMESSES	*ra-ms-su*	49.	First monarch of 19th dynasty.
17	AMENOPHATH	*amn-htp-hk-an-atn*		Disc-worshipper.

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This list contains the 10 legitimate kings, the first king of the 19th dynasty, the three Theban disc-worshippers, and three re-entries, with the motives of all of which we have already endeavoured to deal.

The social characteristics of this brilliant epoch in the history of Egypt are fully recorded on the ample remains of its greatness.

The fruits of the changes in the relative positions of Pharaoh and his princes, effected by the policy of Joseph, are abundantly developed in the monumental annals of the 18th dynasty. The tombs of the nobles are covered with the gorgeous representations of pageants connected with the offices they held in connection with the king, his palace, and his revenues. The central attraction of all these vast pictures is Pharaoh on his throne, gorgeously attired, and surrounded with splendour and magnificence, to which it would be hard to find a parallel in the history of man upon earth, receiving the servile homage of the prince who excavates the tomb, and of the entire train of his household, his dependents, and his retainers, who prostrate themselves before the throne, in the most abject and servile postures. The contrast to all this, presented by the tombs of old Egypt, is as strange as it is striking. There Pharaoh never appears. The prince, the excavator of the tomb, is the great man. His family and his attendants acknowledge his superiority by respectful but manly and becoming gestures. But even the delinquent slave about to be beaten does not prostrate himself and kiss the dust, which was the invariable practice of the sons and attendants of the

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princes of Egypt, at the era of the 18th dynasty. The increase of the power and influence of the throne, so clearly exhibited by this comparison, is, we need scarcely repeat, amply accounted for by the changes effected in the internal policy of Egypt, during the reign of Pharaoh-APHOPHIS.

The evidences of national aggrandisement, of extensive intercourse with the foreign neighbours of Egypt, to the north and south, and the increase both of public and private wealth, are set forth with equal plainness in the monumental records of the 18th dynasty. The lying fanaticism and tasteless bigotry of the Amonian priesthood represented all foreigners as prisoners of war, and all foreign productions as the spoils of victory; but, nevertheless, the truth has shone through their falsehoods. A large foreign commerce was the characteristic of their times. The products of the south reached Thebes and Upper Egypt, through Ethiopia and Nubia, while the Xoite kingdom in the Delta was the *entrepot* for the commerce of Asia, which was brought to the shores of Egypt by the trading vessels of the Phenicians. If we consider the condition of man on the earth, in the times of the 18th dynasty, the reason of this foreign commerce will abundantly appear. There was not a place in the then known world so well adapted for the production of corn, the prime necessity of life, as Egypt. The first colonists had perceived this, and had with wonderful energy and perseverance set themselves to the development of the productive powers of their new country. This example had been nobly followed by the long line

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of their successors; and in the times now before us, a far greater surface of the Desert had been fertilized by the waters of the Nile, and stood thick with corn, than at any former period. On the other hand, the circumstances of all the countries that border upon Egypt had been far less favourable for the encouragement of agriculture. The unsettled state of society, and the warlike propensities of mankind, exposed the inhabitants both of the mountains of Ethiopia and of Canaan to incessant peril from hostile aggression. Egypt was in a great measure freed from this danger, in the form it then assumed, by the surrounding deserts. In consequence, Egypt was largely in advance of the rest of mankind, in the knowledge of agriculture as an art. It cannot be doubted that the three-fold yearly harvest, which she yields even in her present degradation, was also gathered in the 18th dynasty, so that her supply of the first necessary of life was boundless, while the demand for it, on the part of all her neighbours, was most pressing and urgent, as is abundantly testified by the frequently recurring famines recorded in their histories.

It is therefore to be gathered, from the monuments of this epoch, that Egypt enjoyed a large amount of internal tranquillity, and had an extensive foreign commerce, during the two centuries now under review. The disputed successions, and wars of religion, which we have found in their eventful history, were certainly not of such an absorbing and universal character as to interfere perceptibly either with individual prosperity or national progress. It may even be doubted whether

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the religious quarrels which occupy so large a space in our history of them, extended very far beyond the precincts of the temples on which they are recorded, and the very ample staff of priests, attendants, and slaves, that inhabited them. In the days of Plutarch,* broils and fights between the priests of Egyptian temples, on behalf of the claims of their gods, were frequent in every village in Egypt, and excited no attention. It seems highly probable that a similar state of things prevailed in the times before us; for the religious changes, and even the rival successions, we have noticed, seem to have interfered very little with the prosperous progress of the country.

The rapid advance of luxury amongst the inhabitants of Egypt is unmistakably noted on the monuments of the 18th dynasty. The arts of design touched a point of perfection in the days of THOTHMOSIS and AMENOPHIS-MEMNON which they never surpassed, but whence they soon afterwards visibly declined. We have already made allusion to the employment of foreign artists from Phenicia as a probable reason for their advance at this epoch.† This fact is formally recorded in the designs on the tomb of Ros-she-ra, the master-builder of THOTHMOSIS. The workshop, in which the statuary for the constructions on which he was engaged was executed, is the subject of one of these pictures. All the persons employed there, both the superintendents and the drudges, are Lower Egyptians and Canaanites.

The high state of art at this epoch is traceable in all

* De Isid. et Osir. † Above, p. 171.

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the remains of it. The architectural and internal decorations, which are so conspicuous a part of all Egyptian pictures, are given at Gournou, with a truthfulness and artistic force for which we should certainly seek in vain in the cemeteries of the earlier epochs. The mastery in art attained in these times over those that went before, is likewise conspicuous in the designs themselves, both of architecture and furniture.

We take as a single example the thrones of the Pharaohs of this dynasty, as they appear in the tombs of their princes. For gorgeous magnificence, it would be impossible to surpass them. The base of the throne consists of figures of a northern and southern foreigner bound to the central stake or pillar. The plinth of the alcove or canopy, which overshadows the throne, is likewise hollow, and serves as a prison, in which are represented foreigners bound. The shape of this plinth is that of the cubit, which seems to imply that the prisoners in it are malefactors under sentence. On the throne of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON the same idea is repeated in another device, on the arms of the throne, where the king appears as a sphinx or man-headed lion, *passant*, and setting his hind-foot on the throat of a prostrate Nubian, and his fore-foot on that of a Lower Egyptian or Canaanite. The columns that, resting on the plinth, support the canopy, have for their capitals groups composed of the heads of animals, fantastically but most tastefully arranged, and exhibiting skill and firmness of hand in drawing which has never been surpassed.

The advance in the arts of design is even still more

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conspicuous in the human figures of this epoch. The scale of proportion underwent a reform, which brought it considerably nearer to the reality of nature;* though art in Egypt was too much hampered with the sacred precedents of antiquity, ever to attain to fidelity in drawing the human figure. The outline, however, becomes far more flowing, both in the draperies and in the figures themselves, than in the old times. This especially appears in their delineations of the female form. In the same manner, the likenesses of this epoch have by no means the dead, stony air of those of the primitive times, but exhibit considerable life and animation in some of the highest and best executed productions of art in the 18th dynasty.

The scenes of rural life, which formed almost the only subject depicted in the tombs of Old Egypt, gave place, under the 18th dynasty, to the processions, banquets, and villas, of a capital city. We are, therefore, nearly without the means of instituting a comparison between the two, so as to arrive at an estimate of the progress made in the arts of agriculture and pasturage, in the course of the interval of time that separates the two eras. We are only able to gather a very few particulars concerning these arts from the tombs of Gournou.

Almost the only culture of the soil, represented in the tombs of the princes of the 18th dynasty, is that of gardens and orchards. The delineations of the former have long been well known in England, through the designs of Rosellini and Wilkinson. Their details

* Leps. Abt. iii. Bl. 78.

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are by no means easy to understand. We, however, learn from them, that the notion of a pleasant garden in the days when Israel sojourned in Egypt, differed not at all from our present taste. They consisted of lawns, shaded with large trees, surrounding artificial pools of water, generally square, full of fish, and with water-fowl swimming on the surface. There is no evidence that flowers were cultivated in Egypt in these times; but much attention was paid to the growth of fruit-trees, to which these gardens were mainly devoted. The vine, especially, was trained upon trellises, and its culture sedulously attended to. The orange was also known at this epoch, and highly valued. It has occasionally been found in earthen jars in the tombs of Gournou. It also became the practice, at this epoch, to import into Egypt the fruit-trees of Ethiopia and other southern countries. This must have prevailed very generally, for there is scarcely a procession of southern traders, in which young trees, with their roots in baskets of earth, are not represented as part of the spoil or tribute. Their pictures of trees are, unfortunately, not distinct enough to determine their species. We are only able to say, that the date and doum palms were cultivated in Egypt in the times of the 18th dynasty. The fruit of them has been found in the tombs.

The few representations of pastoral life in these tombs, leave us to infer that the breed of domestic animals had become settled and permanent at this period. The zebu, or humped ox, from the interior of Africa, and the horse, from Arabia, had been added

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to the earlier list. The latter was then, as now, very abundant, and was doubtless bred in great numbers on the grassy plains of Thebes.

It was the custom of the magnificent monarchs of the 18th dynasty to keep alive the rare and fierce animals found in foreign countries. Lions, panthers, leopards, giraffes, gazelles, antelopes, and apes, of many foreign species, are frequently represented in the tombs of Gournou as brought for tribute; and the president of the living collections of these animals was one of the high and envied offices of the princes of Egypt. The lion was certainly tamed by the Pharaohs of this epoch; and his majestic and commanding form added dignity to the presence of the king, when he went forth in state, and, running by the side of his chariot, struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, as he advanced to battle. It is not certain whether these wild beasts were kept in dens or cages, or turned loose into enclosed parks, for the purpose of hunting. This last practice prevailed also in ancient Persia.

The domestic life of the princes of Egypt scarcely appears on the tombs of this period. Where it is alluded to, the prescription of the ancient tombs is rigidly followed; so that we only gather from them that the number of attendants, and of all other appendages of court life, enormously increased.

This being the last peaceful epoch which will pass under our review, we have felt it important thus briefly to compare it with the old times that went before, in order to make apparent the social progress of Egypt during the interval we have now considered.

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CHAPTER VII.

DESIGNS OF THE SONS OF AMOSIS.—THE 19TH DYNASTY.—RAMSES THE SON OF HORUS.—HIS REIGN AND WORKS.—SETHOS.—HIS FANATICISM.—SPEOS ARTEMIDOS.—THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK.—SERIES OF HISTORICAL RELIEFS ON ITS NORTH EXTERNAL WALL.—THE CAMPAIGN IN LOWER EGYPT AND CANAAN IN HIS FIRST YEAR.—ITS IMPORTANT RESULTS.—HUMILIATION OF THE XOITE THRONE.—LARGE ACCESSIONS OF TERRITORY IN LOWER EGYPT.—THIS CAMPAIGN THE GREAT EVENT IN THE LIFE OF SETHOS.—REPEATED AT REDESIEH IN THE EASTERN DESERT, IN HIS NINTH YEAR.—SETHOS OBSERVED THE STIPULATIONS OBTAINED BY JOSEPH FOR THE SONS OF ISRAEL.—THEY WERE NOT IN WORSE PLIGHT THAN THE LOWER EGYPTIANS IN THE CEDED DISTRICTS.—VISIBLE AND RAPID DECLINE OF THE XOITE KINGDOM IN THE REIGN OF SETHOS.—ITS DURATION.

THE history of the 18th dynasty, which we have just concluded, we have found to be that of a series of struggles, on the part of a line of illustrious monarchs, to realize the conception, the germs of which we had detected in the first onslaught of their founder AMOSIS on the Memphite Pharaohs, and which gradually developed itself in the thoughts and actions of his successors. It was a lofty and ambitious imagination. It involved nothing less, than that Amun should be

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the supreme god in every city in Egypt, and that the sons of AMOSIS, as the earthly vicegerents of Amun, should be the sole kings of all that had ever been called Egypt, from the mouths of the Astaboras to the shores of the Mediterranean. Some considerable progress had been made towards the accomplishment of this design on the accession of HORUS. The completion of it was reserved for the kings of the succeeding age.

THE 19TH DYNASTY.

The position of the Theban crown appears to have been at this time highly favourable to the success of the pretensions of the family of AMOSIS. The disc-worshipping sect only existed in some very attenuated form, at Amarna. This was the only breach in the continuity of their dominion, from the uttermost bounds of Nubia to Alexandria in the Western Delta, including the city of Memphis, concerning which we have no evidence that it ever again fell into the power of the Xoite Pharaohs. In the Delta their possessions seem to have been strictly limited to the westernmost or Canopic branch. All to the eastward of this boundary appertained to the yet flourishing and important kingdom of the Xoite descendants of APHOPHIS. The overthrow of both these opposing pretensions, and the establishment of the Theban kingdom, as supreme over all Egypt, was the work of the illustrious dynasty whose history we have now to consider.

The reasons why certain of the kings of Egypt are

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made, in the Greek lists, the founders of new races or dynasties, are by no means clear. They certainly were not necessarily the heads of new families, ascending the throne by usurpation, or conquest, or collateral relationship, which is the ordinary import of a new dynasty. It was not so with the founders either of the 12th or 18th dynasties. It is the same in the case before us. The head of the 19th dynasty was the son of HORUS, the last king of the 18th, as well as his successor.* He therefore succeeded to the throne directly, like AMENEMES and AMOSIS. Both these heads of dynasties, however, conferred tangible benefits on Egypt. AMENEMES brought to a close the civil war for the members of Osiris. AMOSIS took Memphis from the Shepherds. We naturally look, therefore, for some similar exploit in RAMSES, the head of the 19th dynasty.

The name of this king is thus written: i.e., *ra-mn-ari*, "sun strong in vigilance" (over both Egypts), *ra-ms-su*, "the sun begat him."

The benefit conferred on Egypt by RAMSES is not mentioned in the lists, and only appears from the monuments, without being formally stated even there. It was, we believe, the expulsion of the disc-worshippers, by war or treaty, from Tel-el-Amarna and the rest of Middle Egypt, that gave RAMSES his place in the lists as head of a dynasty, and added to his Lower Egyptian name the title, "lion vigilant in both Egypts," which was first assumed by AMOSIS, the founder

* Abydos, B. 48, 49.

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of the 18th dynasty, and afterwards taken also by RAMERRI, the founder of the 20th. The exploit, which procured these honours for RAMSES, was doubtless performed in his father's lifetime. The monumental evidence of this is very strong.

I. The disc-worshipping kings at Tel-el-Amarna seem to have ceased just about the time of his accession.

II. He is repeatedly worshipped by his son on his constructions at Karnak, at the temple of Gournou on the opposite bank, and elsewhere. His memory was as highly revered as that of any king that ever reigned in Egypt. It is therefore evident that the lists have not erred in making him the founder of a dynasty.

III. The conquest of Middle Egypt is never mentioned among the exploits either of his son or grandson. We have, nevertheless, the monumental evidence of the Speos Artemidos, that Middle Egypt was a part of the dominions of the Theban Pharaohs in the days of his son.

The reign of RAMSES was short; but some remarkable memorials of it are still extant. At Thebes, the last four columns, which complete the most ancient part of the palace of Luxor, were finished in the days of RAMSES, and therefore are inscribed with his name and title.

At Wady-Halfa, in Upper Nubia, RAMSES made certain additions to the temple of Sa-Amun, which was begun by his ancestor SESORTOSIS,* and replaced by that of ACHERRES.† This was commemorated in an

* Above, p. 20. † *Ibid.* p. 315.

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inscription of eight lines of hieroglyphics, dated in the second year of his reign. The same monument likewise relates that he gained a victory over the Phutim at Ibrim, and that he had dedicated a part of the prisoners and spoil to Sa-Amun at Wady-Halfa. The difficulties with which his ancestors had to contend on this frontier of Egypt, were therefore by no means at an end in the days of RAMSES. It somewhat confirms our conjecture as to the nature of the service rendered to the monarchy by RAMSES, to find this only monumental record of his reign to be a war with the Phutim, the confederates of the negro disc-worshippers.

The tomb of RAMSES, in the valley of Biban-El-Malook, is the only remaining memorial of him in Egypt. The dimensions of the inclined corridor, which forms the entrance to it, show plainly the magnificence of the design. But the first hall only was begun, and the paintings were scarcely dry upon its walls, when it was wanted for the death sleep of its excavator. The huge block of red granite, intended for the sarcophagus, was lowered down the inclined corridor, and placed in this single hall, the paintings of which show that it was designed for the entrance merely to a long suite of galleries, cabinets, and halls, as in other royal tombs. The undermost of the two masses, into which the granite block had been divided, was rudely hollowed out, so as to admit the mummy of the king. The uppermost block was then placed upon it, and the name of RAMSES, with a few common mythic devices, was coarsely traced upon the outer surface of the granite in fresco. The paintings of the hall were never

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finished, those of the corridor were never begun; the tomb was closed, its entrance carefully hidden, and RAMSES slept with his fathers. Such was the strange custom that prevailed in Egypt. It seems to have been accounted profane to make any addition whatever to the decorations of the tomb after the death of its inmate.

The reign of RAMSES is put down in the lists as having lasted only 1½ years. Neither the monumental date nor his tomb, enables us to contradict this. The chronological use of the practice, to which we have just alluded, will now appear. Assuming that RAMSES commenced the structure of his tomb immediately on his accession (which was doubtless the custom both of kings and nobles), about two years' work was completed when he was buried. The construction of the king's tomb was the work of his entire reign, and additions were evidently made to it yearly; so that, to speak strictly, no tomb in Egypt was ever completed.

SETHOS I.

The monumental fame of the son and successor of RAMSES (Abydos, B 50), is far more conspicuous than his father's. His name was, LOWER EGYPT, *ra-t-me-nrn*, "sun, firm in justice;" UPPER EGYPT, *mei-n-pth-stei*, "*Setei*, beloved of Phtha." He is clearly the SETHOS of the lists, who stands at the head of the 19th dynasty. His position on the tablet of Abydos, and other hieroglyphic

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genealogies, establishes his identity. Samuel Birch was the first to point this out. The word *st* is written by Plutarch, Σεθ,* and given as one of the names of Typhon, or the evil principle. It is so used in all mythic hieroglyphic texts, but in the historical texts it means "a foreign god," "a god worshipped by some other nation than Egypt."

At Beni-hassan, in Middle Egypt, a *speos*, or cavern-temple, has been hewn, in a deep ravine, in the limestone crags, that hem in the valley on the eastern side. It was called by the Greeks *Speos Artemidos*, "the cavern-temple of Diana." It was dedicated to the goddess *Phi-chot*, "the chastiser with fire," one of the lion-headed *Eumenides* or furies of the Egyptian mythology, whose name the Greeks harmonized into Bubastis, and identified with the Artemis or Diana of their mythology.† The living symbol of this goddess was the lioness.

The fanatical intolerant spirit that actuated SETHOS is as remarkably exemplified here as at Karnak. The excavation was certainly finished to some extent by one of his ancestors; THOTHMOSIS, according to Wilkinson.‡ This is, however, doubtful. The name of the founder is everywhere so effectually erased, that the question

* Also Σεθωνις. The hieroglyphic name reads *st-oni*. The last character is a *stone* (Copt. ONI). It is the hieroglyphic transcription of the Hebrew word שָׂטָן, *Satan*.

† Very probably in obedience to the well known superstition that prevailed among them, of always speaking civilly and respectfully of the avenging goddesses.

‡ *u. s.* ii. 55.

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is one of great difficulty. Lepsius supposes it to have been the work of AMENSES, the mother of THOTHMOSIS.* It seemed to us that the erased and overwritten name was the Lower Egyptian ring of ARMAIS. The name of SETHOS replaces it in every instance we noticed. The worship of this obnoxious ancestor seems to have been as little to the taste of SETHOS as his name. Several of the gods are in the same manner defaced and overwritten.

If, as we assume, the act of heroism which constituted RAMSES the head of a dynasty was the destruction of the last remnant of the disc-worshippers in Middle Egypt, it seems likely that one of the first acts of his son on his accession would be the completion of this temple to the avenging divinity, to whose interposition, doubtless, he ascribed his father's success. For this reason only we place the Speos Artemidos at the commencement of the reign of SETHOS. There is no date to guide us.

The great work of SETHOS was the construction of the vast hypostyle hall in the palace of Karnak, which is 320 feet long by 164 feet broad. The stone roof was supported by 134 columns, each 40 feet high, and 27 feet in girth. Through the centre of the hall was a broad avenue, on both sides of which are six pillars, each 66 feet high, and 36 feet in circumference. So skilfully have these colossal dimensions been disposed of by the architect, that the hall of Karnak, even in its present devastation, produces upon the mind impressions of awe and sublimity more powerfully than any other

* Abt. iii. Bl. 26, 27.

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work of man upon the earth. In the north wall of this glorious construction is one of the portals of entrance, and on its external surface the picture-history of the campaigns of the first year of the reign of SETHOS, the founder, is depicted so as to surround the gateway.

On the side-posts of this portal is represented the god of the temple, Amun, coming forth and presenting SETHOS with a sword. He leads eighteen prisoners. Their arms are tied behind them, and the same cord passes round the necks of the whole row. The end of it is in the hand of the god. It terminates in a tassel, representing the bud of the crimson lotus, which is the sign of the south country. Before each captive (as before, p. 20), is the ground-plot of an oval brick dungeon, in which the slaves of the temples were incarcerated at night; and on it is inscribed the name of the country to which the prisoners belonged. Below Amun, is a goddess with a bow and arrows, the only weapon that ever appears in the hands of females in these pictures. She presents them to the colossal figure of SETHOS. On the head of this goddess is a sceptre, surmounting the picture of an irrigated field, which has been assumed to denote "the land of Egypt." The sceptre is the name of the land over which Mars (*i.e.*, Month or Mendes) was tutelary. It therefore signifies the debatable land. We believe that it means here the whole eastern frontier opposite to the Isthmus, and that the goddess impersonating this district is Maut, the wife of Amun at Karnak, and, as we have already found, the mythic queen of the

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north. She holds in her left hand the cords whereby about forty captives are bound. Each of them terminates in the tassel of the papyrus rush, which denotes the north country. We find, accordingly, that the names of all the prisoners led by this goddess are those of localities in Lower Egypt, in the desert of Suez, and in Canaan. The symbolism of the whole device is clumsy and confused; but the idea appears to have been that the captives led by Amun represented the people already subdued by the kings of Upper Egypt, and made tributary to the temple; while in the hands of the goddess were the nations, the subjugation of which was required of the conqueror, and which are here represented as captives by an uncouth prolepsis. It seems certain that nothing like historical accuracy was intended by this design. Many of the ground-plots are left blank in both groups of captives. In other rings, the names first engraved have been erased, and others written over them. These changes must have been suggested by variations in the policy of SETHOS, in the course of the long period that would be occupied in the construction of the temple of Karnak.

The king is thus addressed by the god Amun.

"Amun-Re, the lord of the three seats of justice of both Egypts, saith:

O my son, the partaker of my nature,
My beloved one, SETHOS, the lord of both Egypts,
Whose sword prevaileth over all lands;
Thou hast taken the scymitar of thy god,
Thou hast prevailed therewith,
Thou hast smitten the Phutim.

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I am thy father,
I give to thy prowess Arvad, on thy northern border.
Nubia lies slain beneath thy sandals;
At my command thou wentest forth against the ancient lands of the south,
They brought presents unto thee, yea, thou receivedst their tributes.

The rest is mutilated.

The address of the goddess to SETHOS is in a precisely similar strain.

I grant that thy majesty may be seen of all thine enemies. Thou dartest thy beams into their faces;
They are blasted with the splendour of thy majesty, &c.

The rest is in the same strain of hyperbole, and contains no history.

The personage to whom this extravagance is addressed is worthy of it. It is a figure of SETHOS, more than 20 feet high, wearing the red crown or cap of Lower Egypt, grasping with his left hand the stake to which nine foreign prisoners are bound, kneeling, and brandishing in his right a huge club or mace. He is in the act of braining them before his gods. It cannot be doubted that this was an actual scene, and that human sacrifices formed a part of the ritual of the gods of Egypt in the days of SETHOS. We shall soon find other evidence of the same melancholy truth. Over him is inscribed:

He smites mightily the borders of the Shepherds,
All their mountains and all their plains, unto the extreme borders thereof.
The kings of the Shepherds tremble at the report of him,

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Their strongholds melt before him like water .....

He smiteth the borders of the Shepherds, and maketh them to flee.

He stretcheth his border, both by sea and land, over the strongholds of Naharain.

We have already ascertained that by Naharain we are to understand the country over the eastern bounds of Egypt. We shall find it used here in the same sense.

A repetition of this scene appears on both sides of the gateway. With one or two unimportant variations, the two are identical, even to the names of the captives.*

We have mentioned that the negro captives in the hands of Amun seem to denote the tribes already subdued and made tributary to Karnak by the ancestors of SETHOS. Their history has already made our readers acquainted with the extent and duration of their wars against Cush and Phut. We have also found the tribute of the black races to Karnak expressly recorded in the annals of the reign of THOTHMOSIS. These circumstances render perfectly intelligible a peculiarity in the group of captives which SETHOS is immolating. There is but a single negro prisoner in it; the rest are Asiatics. This can scarcely be misunderstood to mean that SETHOS had but one action with foreign enemies on his southern frontier. The monuments of Nubia and Ethiopia amply verify this reading. The name of SETHOS is seldom found there,

* On the left jamb, the northern captives are led by "Horus in the desert," the deification of MENCHERES (see vol. i. p. 387).

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though those both of his immediate ancestors and successors are so very frequent in the southern dependencies of Egypt. The following are the only known instances of the occurrence there of the name of SETHOS.

He added a few inconsiderable decorations to the speos of Sesesbi, in Ethiopia, which his ancestor THOTHMOSIS had executed there. At Dosche, in Upper Nubia, a single tablet is engraved on the sandstone-rock which bears his name. At Wady Halfa, SETHOS completed an inscription which his father had begun in the second year of his reign, on a tablet in the temple of Sa. Most probably RAMSES died at Wady Halfa. These are the only existing memorials of SETHOS, to the southward of the Egyptian border.

The names of the captives led by Amun afford another and now perfectly needless illustration of the lying spirit in which these records are written. The first captive is named, "the lands and cities of the south," the second is "the evil race of Cush;" the third, fourth, and fifth, read: (3), "the cities of that land," (4), "[likewise] the suburbs of their cities," (5), "[and] their kings."* It is scarcely needful to point out that this is a mere explanatory sentence, which, by an ingenious device, is transmuted into five captive cities.

In the names that follow, we have long ago pointed out the resemblance of some of them to those retained

* *Malak-lki;* this word I have elsewhere read by mistake "Amalekites" (*Egypt; her Testimony to the Truth*).

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by tribes of Nubians and Ethiopians at this day.* The rest have not been identified. There are in fact but eight names of places in Africa in the entire group. The last five prisoners are like the first five, the words of a sentence enclosed in dungeons, and the disguised names of places mentioned before. The two first read thus: "the lands of the north, [even] the whole north." The three last are written with characters not known to occur elsewhere, and therefore illegible. They have clearly been added late in the reign of SETHOS. If the three illegible names have any meaning, they are those of places already written among the prisoners of the goddess; but the scribe has invented new homophons to write them with, in order to conceal the fraud. Three dungeons, in the group led by Amun, were never filled up. They remain blank to this day.

The group of prisoners led by the goddess is in the same condition. In several of the first dungeons are incarcerated the words of an introductory sentence. Many of the last rings were left blank by the first constructers, and filled up long afterwards. The motive for all this dishonesty is obvious enough. It was to swell, as much as possible, the number of captives in both groups.

We now proceed to the reading of the names of this latter group of prisoners, led by Maut on the right jamb, and by Horus in the desert on that to the left.

* *Ubi supra*, p. 48.

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1 *mnei*, the Canaanite Shepherds (*above*, p. 282).

2 *Sheth*, i.e., Moab and Ammon (*above*, p. 216).

3 *Naharain*, i.e., the country over the north-eastern border (*above*, p. 165, &c.).

These are also the words of a sentence which reads: "He took Shepherds and Moabites prisoners in the countries beyond the north-eastern border."

4 *rtn-hr-t.* *Upper Arvad*, that is, Lower Egypt, the Xoite kingdom (*u.s.* &c.).

5 *rtn-kr-t.* *Lower Arvad*, that is, Arvad in Canaan, named also in the present design the Hermonites, as in the record of THOTHMOSIS (*above*, p. 219, *seq.*). The Tyrian settlers in Egypt.

Both these last powers were the confederates of SETHOS throughout the war; yet are they represented here as enemies and prisoners. Such is the boastful and lying spirit that has dictated these records. The names that follow will show very clearly that both these peoples must have been dwellers in Egypt.

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6 *Tanis* (*above*, p. 277). The mode of writing the name of this city shows, that from the days of THOTHMOSIS to those of SETHOS it had remained a part of the dominions of the Xoite kings.

7 *On*, or Heliopolis (*above*, p. 227). The last character is the determinative, and denotes a pool of water. The word *nu*, has often the meaning of water in the ancient Egyptian language, and especially means, as we believe, "the water of the annual overflow." Not improbably the transcription of this name, used when On was subject to the Upper Egyptian Pharaohs, alludes to the position of the city. It stood on the extreme eastern verge of the yearly overflow, and would therefore be well described by the epithet *pne-on*, or *nu*, "boundary of the inundation."

8 Mutilated.

9 *p-bsh*. Hebrew, פי־בסת, Pi-beseth; the city afterwards called by the Greeks Bubastis. When in the hands of the Upper Egyptian kings, its hieroglyphic name was written *pi-sht*, which is the name of its tutelary goddess, one of the Egyptian furies (*above*, p. 386). Bubastis was situated on the Phathmetic branch of the Nile, to the northward of Heliopolis (*see Map*). As we have said, it was celebrated in the later history of Egypt as one of the capitals of the monarchy in the times of the 22nd dynasty.

10 Mutilated.

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11 *Sais.* According to the monuments, this city now returned to the possession of the Upper Egyptian kings for the first time since the conquest of Memphis by SAITES (*u. s.* p. 36, *seq.*).

These six localities were, doubtless, all in the Delta, as is the case with those that are legible; which (as may be noted in the Map), are likewise all frontier cities, and (with the exception of Sais), all on the eastern border. We know, by the evidence of the monuments, that SETHOS was in some sense a sovereign over Heliopolis. The obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, at Rome, which was brought from thence by the Cæsars, was sculptured by him. It may have been a mere joint occupation, both of it and of the other cities named in this design, for the purpose of defending the eastern frontier of both kingdoms against the Canaanites. The extremely mendacious character of the record, whence we derive our information, renders this caution needful. But, nevertheless, the formal cession to Upper Egypt of sovereign authority over six cities in the Delta, in any sense, which must be implied in it, clearly indicates weakness in the Xoite kingdom. This is the first symptom of its decay that has yet been presented to us. We have seen how rapidly it recovered itself after the loss of Memphis, and resumed the aggressive. We shall not henceforward find any evidence of a similar revival.

12 *mnnus.* Some locality in the eastern desert named after Manasseh, the son of Joseph (*Egypt's Place*, p. 157).

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13 Illegible.

14 *bair-nu.* Samuel Birch was the first to point out the true import of this name of a locality in the desert of Suez. It means "well of water." That it was the proper name written ברנע, *Barnea* in the Hebrew Bible, had been before pointed out (*u. s.*). It was fully written *Kadesh-Barnea.* Another name for it was עין־משפט, *En-mishpat,* "the well of judgment" (Gen. xiv. 7).

15 Illegible.

16 *ain-shu,* i.e., עין־שח, "fountain in a pit," "draw-well." It seems to be the Hebrew name of a station in the desert not mentioned in the Bible.

Five stations in the desert of Suez, hitherto in the possession of the king of Lower Egypt, or of his Canaanite subjects, are here ceded to SETHOS, in return, doubtless, for assistance rendered by him in repelling a Canaanite invasion. This is a still further evidence of the decline of the Xoite kingdom.

17 *shasu.* Hebrew, זוזים, *the Zuzim.* This warlike tribe of Canaanites was among the very first of the settlers in the Delta. Even in the times of Abraham they were known among their brethren as "the Zuzim that dwelt in Ham [*i. e.*, Egypt]" (Gen. xiv. 5).

18 ערד, *Arad* in South Canaan (*Egypt, &c.*, p. 157).

19 *Phenne,* perhaps *Punon,* in Mount Hor (*Egypt, &c., u. s.*).

20 נחש, *Nahash,* in South Canaan (*Egypt, &c., u. s.*).

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The Zuzim seem to have been at this time rangers of the desert of Suez, having possessions on both borders. It was on this account, and because of their constant collision with Egypt, that they made themselves especially obnoxious there; so much so, that their name (ϣωc, Copt.) became the appellative for "Shepherd," "ignominy," and other opprobrious epithets in the common speech of Egypt.

SETHOS boasts here of having taken from the Zuzim three strongholds in the desert, and on its eastern borders.

We are persuaded that these twenty prisoners were all that were in the train of the goddess when the picture was first finished. They complete the two upper rows. The lower row, on both jambs, was added afterwards at different times in the course of the reign of SETHOS. It consists altogether of localities in the Delta.

This epitome of the war is repeated exactly on both the jambs of the portal. The war itself was represented on five planes or series of tableaux. Three of them abut upon the right jamb of the doorway, and two on the left. Each of these planes terminates in a triumph and dedication to Amun under various forms. They are so arranged, that the images of the gods in all of them stand nearest the door, with their backs to it, as if in the act of coming forth from the temple. This we also found to be the case with the gods depicted in the epitome. It is only by the study of this picture-history, *in situ*, that there is any chance of reading it aright.

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The arrangement of these several actions of war was as follows:—

ADVANCE, ON THE RIGHT OF THE DOORWAY.

I. SETHOS took the fort of Hadasha.
II. SETHOS defeated Heth in two battles.
III. SETHOS defeated Sheth.

RETREAT, ON THE LEFT OF THE DOORWAY.

IV. SETHOS took a fort in Hermon, and restored it to Lower Arvad or Tyre.

V. SETHOS defeated the Shos (Zuzim) before Kanah, received an embassy from Tyre, took Bashan, and returned to Egypt.

The war, therefore, was an invasion of Canaan by SETHOS. To the right of the doorway the advance is represented; the retreat to the left. The actions on all these five planes terminate in triumphs and dedications of the spoil to Amun of Karnak, who, as we have said, appears in all the five, with his back to the doorway, as if coming forth from it, and under various impersonations.

I. THE CAPTURE OF HADASHA.

At this visible commencement of the series, the wall is so mutilated that the only remains of the whole plane are the fort itself with its routed defenders, a portion of the horses of SETHOS at one end, and some

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fragments of the gods at the other. The picture itself is like all those that follow it—a ridiculous hyperbole. SETHOS achieves the victory alone. He and his horses are dilated to colossal dimensions. Nothing can be more perfect than the defeat of his enemies before the fortress. There is not a man or horse in their army that is not mortally wounded by his arrows. The soldiers on the two battlements of the fort are in no better plight than their allies without. Of those of them that are not yet stricken with the arrows of SETHOS, some throw themselves headlong over the battlements, others hold up their broken bows, in token of submission, while their chief presents a firebrand to the conqueror, proposing thereby to set fire to the stronghold.* The only beings unhurt in the whole host of the enemy are a herdsman and his cattle, which he is driving off at full speed, endeavouring, of course in vain, to escape the conqueror. The only history which it is possible to derive from this monstrous cariacature would seem to be that the combined armies of Upper and Lower Egypt routed a considerable force of Canaanites, and took a fort. The name of the fort is inscribed upon it—"Atash or Chatash, in the land of Amor;" *i.e.*, the Amorites. It is well known that the possessions of this tribe of Canaanites lay to the extreme south of the Holy Land, and bordered upon the desert of Suez.†

* The forts in Canaan seem to have been built chiefly of wood. They were probably stockades. The burning of them after their capture was one of the customs of war (see Deut. xx. 20; Joshua xi. 11, &c.).

† See Joshua x., &c.

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The stronghold we have already found repeatedly mentioned in the records of the wars of THOTHMOSIS.* It was one of the very few localities of Egypt to the north-eastward, over which, in these ancient times, she pretended to the sovereignty. Her expeditions across the Isthmus were mere *razzias*, for the sake of slaves and plunder.

This stronghold is represented in the picture on a wooded hill. Its title, "Hadasha in the land of the Amorite," seems so well to describe the position of *Hadasha*, "one of the uttermost cities of Judah towards the coast of Edom, southward,"† and in the country whence the Amorites were expelled by Joshua,‡ that we were once decided to identify them. We are, however, now compelled to call this again into question. Chatash was situated on the extreme verge of the possessions of Canaan, and within a short distance of the Egyptian frontier. This is quite evident. It must, therefore, be sought for among the localities in the desert of Suez.

We have already found that one of the first conquests, after passing the bounds of Egypt, recorded in the preface was *Barnea*, or *Kadesh-Barnea*. We believe that it was to this place that the name *Chatash* was applied, and that it represents the first, and as it appears most commonly used, of its appellatives, *Kadesh*,§ קדש.‖ Its exact position in the

* Above, p. 236, &c. † Josh. xv. 21, 37. ‡ Numb. xiii. 29.

§ The initial letter *koph* was represented by the knife in hieroglyphics.

‖ See Gen. xiv. 7; xvi. 14; Ps. xxix. 8.

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desert we shall have ampler materials for discussing, when the monuments of the son of SETHOS are before us. Nothing certain has hitherto been arrived at concerning it.

II. THE DEFEAT OF HETH.

The picture with which the history of this plane commences is well known in England, from the fine cast of it in the British Museum. It represents SETHOS in the act of decapitating with his scymetar the chief of a foreign enemy, whom, having pierced with his javelin, he lifts up with the string of his bow. The hieroglyphic name of this enemy we have already found with its homophonic variations, reading them, "the land of Heth," and "the Hittites." SETHOS was last in the land of the Amorites; he is now in that of the Hittites. The two are likewise thus associated in the Scripture history. The Hittites and the Amorites are frequently mentioned together.* SETHOS fought two battles with Heth, of course routing them with incredible slaughter in both. The second battle is like the first — a personal encounter of SETHOS with a prince of Heth. This peculiarity seems to allude to the prowess of the Hittites.

The triumph of SETHOS over Heth is of the ordinary character. Two files of wretches, the issue of his two battles, are subjected to the torture of the cord, to represent the two affairs in which he gained the victory over them. The heads of several slaughtered Hittites

* Gen. xxxiii. 2, &c.

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are suspended from his chariot. Heth had probably been the cause of the war.*

The dedication presents the spoil to Amun, under his triple form of Amun, Maut, and Chonsis, as worshipped at Karnak. This seems to have been the household god of SETHOS. A shrine containing these images accompanied him to the war.

III. SETHOS OVERTHROWS SHETH.

The picture-history of this event is on the ground-plane of the first part of this vast series. The enemy defeated on this occasion is Sheth, whom we have elsewhere identified with the powerful race of Moab and Ammon, the descendants of the daughters of Lot. Not being of the race of Canaan, they were not included in the Shepherd confederacy in the epitome, like the Amorites and the Hittites, but Sheth is in a separate dungeon.

The picture of the battle with Moab and Ammon† is more perfect than either of the two that precede it. Enough remains of them, however, to show that they were all alike gross cariacatures, exaggerating intolerably the prowess of Pharaoh, and the pusillanimity of his enemies. The battle is a mere slaughter. A host of charioteers strive in vain to oppose the resistless rush of the war-chariot of SETHOS. They are crushed beneath the wheels of his chariot, and the hoofs of his

* The Hittite settlers seem always to have been turbulent subjects in Lower Egypt (*above*, p. 280, &c.).

† Rosellini, M. R. pl. lvii.

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fiery steeds. He himself, dilated to the dimensions of a giant, achieves the victory alone, absolutely alone, unassisted by son, or chief, or soldier! This monstrous hyperbole runs through the series.

The circumstance that Sheth brought chariots to the battle strengthens our identification of this people with Moab and Ammon, who are celebrated in Scripture for the number of war-chariots they brought into the field.

The inscription over the picture tells us that SETHOS "having subdued the Shepherds, chastises the Shethites." The two, it will be noted, are mentioned here separately, as in the epitome.

The triumph is as before. Two files of prisoners are dragged by him to the shrine of his false gods. The arms of all are bound in torturing postures by the same cord, the end of which is in the hand of the conqueror, so that he could at his pleasure throw the whole into agonizing torment at the same time. There cannot be a doubt that the yells, the shrieks, and the groans of these hapless wretches, formed a necessary adjunct to the pomp of these truly diabolical rites, and that they were called forth by a jerk at the cords upon specified occasions. The inscription over this spirited design is as usual:

March on, O SETHOS!
Pass through the land of Sheth, thou devouring wolf!
It melteth before thee.
Even as these smitten ones (are bound) [the prisoners],
So is their whole land bound before thee, &c., &c.

It is in vain to proceed with this verbiage. The

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facts it embodies are that SETHOS took a fort from the Shethites, thereby reviving the hopes of Arvad, or Lower Egypt. He also boasts of his conquests in the land of Heth.

In the dedication, SETHOS presents two strings of captives, and a spoil of gold and silver vessels, and other costly objects, to Amun in his quadruple form:

1. Amun-Re in his ordinary form.

2. Maut his wife, lion-headed, and probably identified with Egypt.

3. Chonsis, their son; *i.e.*, the moon, or Phtha (*above*, p. 158).

4. Thmei, or Themis, the goddess of justice; possibly the wife of Chonsis.*

The female half of the god Amun is lion-headed, to denote that she is a Nemesis or Fury, taking vengeance on the enemies of Egypt. The same mythic being impersonates Egypt on the right preface, and presents SETHOS with a bow and arrows. The Themis of Egypt is here the wife of Chonsis (or the moon), the third hypostasis in the Theban triad. The notions of "vengeance," and "just retribution," conveyed by these changes, must have been intended to suggest some historical circumstance. The position also of the device at the end of the first grand division of the whole picture seems to convey the same intimation. Some great event in the war, then, must have immediately followed the defeat of Sheth.

The accompanying hieroglyphics may possibly assist us in comprehending the nature of the implied event.

* Rosellini, M. R. pl. lix.

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It is written over the two strings of captives led by the king into the presence of this quadruple divinity:

The great chiefs of the evil race of Arvad came to the king,
When he [had] conquered the land of Sheth, both the plains and the mountains [saying],
Full is the lion-land [Avaris] of thy mighty father Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the world, &c.
As thou hast conquered and settled [in the worship of Amun] the lands of the south,
So conquer the lands of the north.*

It was therefore the worship of Amun in Lower Egypt which, as we have said, was the religious motive of the war. The Shethites in Egypt † had opposed it, and had confederated with Heth against it. The present defeat led to its establishment. This appears to have been the event commemorated in the dedication.

The victory over Sheth must have been followed by important political as well as religious changes. These are depicted in the planes that abut on the left preface.

IV. The Restitution of the Forests of Hermon to Lower Arvad.

This is the uppermost of the planes to the left. It commences with the capture of a fortress on the sea-coast, from an enemy which we shall afterwards find to be the Zuzim. The inscriptions are all broken off.‡ The fort, as well as the scene that follows, are both in a mountainous country. In this last, Sethos

* M. R. pl. lix. † Above, p. 216. ‡ M. R. xlvi. 2.

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has descended from his chariot.* The captured fort of the former picture is seen dismantled beneath the feet of his horses. He is receiving an address of thanks from a group of foreigners, some of whom are prostrate before him, while others fell timber in the forest in which they are standing. These people are named in the accompanying inscriptions Hermonites and Lower Arvadites. They were two names of one and the same people, who were Arvadites by descent and Hermonites by nation. They were (as we have found) the Tyrian traders to Egypt. This conclusion we had already stated, in examining another monument.†

The history embodied in these pictures is easy to understand. The Canaanite confederacy against Egypt had not only invaded the Delta, but had also made aggressions upon the territories of Arvad, the ally of Egypt in Hermon, and driven away the Arvadite wood-cutters from the forests thereof. We have seen already how very large a proportion of the imports of Arvad into Egypt consisted of timber, and its great value and importance there. This supply had been cut off by the aggression of the confederates, which SETHOS here avenges, by restoring the forests of Hermon to Arvad. It is expressly said in the inscription that "they fell timber in Hermon to build great ships on the Nile."‡

In the picture that fills the rest of this plane, the artists have shown the true Upper Egyptian contempt for all foreigners, by making SETHOS bind friends and foes alike with cords, truss them by two together under both his arms, and then, mounting his chariot, drag

* M. R. xlvi. 1. † Above, p. 219, *seq.* ‡ M. R. xlvi. 1.

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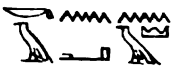
two strings of Arvadites and Zuzites along with them to the foot of his god, here Amun in his ordinary triple form.* We have found the same everywhere else.

V. The Defeat of the Zuzim, the Embassy from Tyre, and the Return to Egypt.

This plane commences with the siege and capture of a strong city, the name of which was written *kananu*.†  The costume and arms of the routed host are those of the Zuzim. The inscription that accompanies the picture informs us that in the first year of Sethos "he drew his sword and smote the Zuzim, that he dislodged them from Damietta, in the land of Avaris, and smote them even unto *Kananu*," or Canaan, as the name of this fort has been long and rightly interpreted. It might be inferred from this legend that the locality before us was the most distant point reached by Sethos, and such we shall find to be the case.

The existence of the descendants of Canaan, the firstborn of Ham, as a separate tribe among the confederacy to which they gave their name, is a fact repeatedly stated in the Bible.‡ It is also certain that the city and district of these Canaanites Proper would be named after them. There was a stronghold in the land of Ashur named *Kanah*, קנה,§ which was situated in about the same parallel as Tyre. This position we

* M. R. xlvii; xlviii. 1. † *Idem* xlviii. 2.
‡ See Exod. iii. 8; xiii. 5; Josh. iii. 10. &c.
§ Josh. xix. 28.

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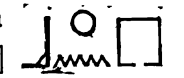
shall presently find to agree well with the city in the present picture,* which is represented in a very mountainous and rugged country.

In the following scene, SETHOS is on the sea-coast. Three forts or cities, all on the coast, are visible. The inhabitants of one of the largest of them present to him a rich present, consisting of vases of silver and gold, and bags of jewels, and are prostrating themselves before him, as he stands upright in his chariot. The accompanying hieroglyphics inform us that these suppliants are the princes of Tyre, which was at this time, in all probability, the chief city of Arvad.†

In the next picture,‡ SETHOS again dislodges the Zuzim from several forts in which they had intrenched themselves. It is said in the accompanying inscription that this scene occurs in the land of the Jebusites.

The name of one of these forts is written  *bshn-e* or *he*, i.e., "the village [habitation] of Bashan;" which may be the district on the east of Jordan so named, of which, two hundred years afterwards, Israel dispossessed the Amorites. Bashan was a mountainous district§ like the country in the design before us. It had also a multitude of fenced cities: not fewer than sixty such forts were taken by storm when the Israelites obtained possession of it.‖ This is

* The difference in spelling between Kanah and Canaan is not important. In proper names, the gutturals frequently interchange with each other.

† The close connection between Arvad and Tyre is frequently mentioned in the Bible. See Ezek. xxviii. &c. (*above*, p. 221).

‡ xlix. 2. § Psa. lxviii. 15. ‖ Deut. iii. 4, 5.

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another point of resemblance. The geographical position of Bashan agrees also with that of the place in this picture. Its northern boundary was the range of Hermon.* To the southward it bordered upon Heshbon, the uttermost province of Moab to the north-east.† One object of this expedition of SETHOS was the chastisement of Moab. Therefore, in his progress to the southward, he passed through Bashan to invade the north-eastern border of Moab; just as Israel, journeying in the opposite direction, passed through Heshbon on the north-east of Moab to Bashan.‡ There is yet another and even more remarkable coincidence. One division of Bashan fell to the lot of Jair, a prince of the tribe of Manasseh, and he named it after himself, *Bashan-havoth-jair*, i.e., "Bashan of the habitations [villages] of Jair."§ Its name, therefore, had been originally בָּשָׁן־חַוָּת, *Bashan-havah*, i.e., "Bashan abounding in villages;" and it is exactly transcribed in hieroglyphics in the group before us; for *he* (Copt. ⲏⲓ), is evidently the ancient word, חַוָּה, *havah*, "a habitation," "village."

In the next picture, SETHOS is on the borders of Egypt.‖ He is riding in his chariot, leading four strings of captives, the fruits of the four battles he has fought in Canaan. The mutilations and tortures inflicted on these miserables are truly frightful, and give a satanic character to the whole scene. Both the hands of one prisoner have been chopped off, and the mutilated stumps are bent upwards and tied over

* Josh. xiii. 11. † Num. xxi. 31—33. ‡ Deut. ii. 30—37; iii. 1.
§ Deut. iii. 13, 14. ‖ Leps. iii. 128.

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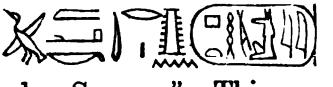
his head, in a position which would dislocate both the shoulder and the elbow joints. There is not one captive that would not be utterly disabled, from the injuries inflicted upon him by the cord, or that could even survive the long continuance of the constraint. Every effort would probably be made to aggravate their tortures to the highest pitch, on an occasion so solemn as the return of the conqueror to the confines of Egypt. Their immolation before the idols of Egypt would doubtless at length terminate the hideous sufferings of these wretches, whose only crime had been the defence of their own country from a foreign invader.

Human sacrifices, we repeat it, assuredly formed a part of the ritual of this idolatry. It is mere affectation to deny it on the authority of the Greeks, when these pictures are before us.

The scene is on the shores of the Mediterranean, close to the mouth of one of the branches of the Nile. The waters of the sea are denoted by fishes, those of the Nile by crocodiles swimming in them, and by reeds growing on both banks. SETHOS is accompanied here by two of his sons. They march by his chariot, which is adorned with the heads of many of his enemies. Three forts appear in the immediate vicinity of the sea-shore. Two of them are close to it; one of the two by the sea (that nearest to Egypt) has its name over-written  *p-megtl-pene-setei;* i. e., "the tower [fortress] built by SETHOS." This was, therefore, a chain of forts along the sea-shore to the eastward of the Delta, of which SETHOS was the constructer.

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The name we have considered elsewhere, in another transcription.*

The inscription over the king is much mutilated. The commencement, however, happily remains, and repeats the very important fact which was also recorded in another tableau. It reads: "In the *first* year of him who is born son of the sun, the king, lord of the two Egypts, SETHOS." The expedition, then, was begun and completed in the first year of his reign. This is the only date that appears anywhere in the series; and therefore there cannot be a doubt that it applies to the whole. It is of great value in the identification of the foreign enemies of Egypt depicted in the series.

A fortress or town stands on the branch of the Nile depicted in this tableau. It is on both banks, and the two are connected with a bridge. The names of the river, the town, and the district, of Egypt, are all recorded in this picture. The fresh water, with reeds on the banks, and abounding with crocodiles, is named "hand [*i.e.*, branch] of the Nile." The probability that such was the case is hereby rendered a certainty.

The name of the city or town is written *p-shtm-et*. The *p* is the Coptic definite article. The group *shtm*, determined by a seal-ring, we have already explained to be the hieroglyphic equivalent of the Coptic verb ⲥⲧⲁⲩ, "to shut," "close."† The initial ⲥ, *shei*, is very often cut off from this word without any change in the sense; so

* Above, p. 236. † Vol. i. p. 163.

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that ⲥⲧⲁⲙ and ⲧⲙ, or ⲧⲱⲙ, in the Coptic texts, are absolutely identical in meaning. From these circumstances we have drawn several inferences.

1. The city before us was called "the lock" or "safeguard," because it was built on the extreme border of Egypt Proper, and served as a defence to the frontier, and also as a place of refuge, to which the herdsmen, on the neighbouring pastures to the eastward, might betake themselves, in case of an invasion from Canaan.*

2. This city is that which is called Pithom, פתם, in the Bible.† It was one of the magazines or "treasure-cities," afterwards fortified by the Israelites for Pharaoh.

3. This city gave its ancient name to the branch of the Nile on which it stood—Φαθμητικη, "Phathmetic;" i.e., *Pithometic:* exactly in the same manner as the "Tanitic," the "Mendesian," the "Pelusiac," and the other mouths of the Nile, all of which are named after the cities built upon them.

4. The name of this city in the Coptic texts is ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁⲧⲓ. This (with the omission of the article), is the hieroglyphic name *tmet*, with scarcely a variation. Its modern name has likewise undergone very little change. It is the city of *Damietta*, situated at the embouchure of the Phathmetic branch of the Nile.

We have stated all this elsewhere.‡ It has, however, been deemed insufficient to establish the identity, by those for whose opinions we entertain the highest

* See Jer. xxxv. 10, 11, &c. † Exod. i. 11.

‡ Egypt; her Testimony to the Truth, pp. 59—61, 106.

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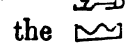
possible value. We therefore add to it another proof, which has since occurred to us, and which, we submit, completes the identification. We have said that beneath the group of northern captives in the prefaces, is another row of prisoners, all representing places in Lower Egypt, and evidently inserted after the original design was finished. The name of the first of these supplementary captives on both jambs is written thus: i.e., *ptm*. This is palpably the disguised transcription of the group before us. The place it names was last represented in the picture, and within the bounds of Egypt; hence this variation in the writing and its place here, as the first city ceded after the termination of the war. Just as palpably the reading of the name must be *Pithom*.

The name of the district is written here as well as elsewhere, in this vast battle-piece which we  have already identified as the *Avaris* of the Greeks, and an ancient name for the eastern Delta.*

In the following picture, a crowd of Egyptian functionaries, civil and military, and of priests, congratulate SETHOS on his return to Egypt. The priests bear

* *Above*, p. 228, &c. It is well known to Biblical critics, that about the year 200 B.C., a schismatical Jew, named Onias, built a temple on the model of that at Jerusalem, in a city of Egypt named *Leontopolis*, "the lion city" (*Josephus Ant. Jud.* xiii. 3, &c.). He cited, in justification of this impiety, a verse in the prophecy of Isaiah, regarding Egypt (chap. xix. 18). "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts. *One shall be called the city of Heres.*" This last clause has long been a difficulty in sacred criticism. It interferes with the drift of the

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palm-branches. All bow very low, and at the same time clap their hands for joy. The song of savage triumph they sang on the occasion is inscribed over them. It contains no history, and is not otherwise worth translating.

Whether SETHOS penetrated so far as he is represented to have done, into Canaan, or whether he ever in person passed the borders of Egypt at all, are questions to which the authorities before us assuredly afford no certain answer. In our account of the reign of his son, we will endeavour to discuss them.

The concluding scene of the whole series consists of the devotion by SETHOS of a portion of his spoil to Amun, at Peramoun in the Delta, where he was still worshipped in the *monadic* form in which he was first made one of the gods of Egypt, and which he retained everywhere in the times of AMENEMES, as our readers will recollect.*

The results of the war commemorated in this vast

passage, and also predicts a circumstance very unlikely to be made the subject of prophecy. When it is further considered, that the whole proceeding of Onias was an avowed attempt to fulfil the prophecy in which the clause occurs, it certainly looks as if it were an apocryphal interpolation by one of his partizans; and that the difficult and much disputed word החרס ("destruction," *Eng. Vers.*), is nothing but the Greek name Ἀουαρις, *Avaris*, "the lion city," written with unpointed Hebrew letters. That the city of Onias was named Leontopolis by the Egyptians is pretty certain. It was situated in the eastern Delta. Its ruins are named Tel Jehudah, "the Jews' Hill," to this day. Its Egyptian name was ΦΛΑΒΟΙ, *i.e.*, "the lion." It was the Φαρβαιθος of the Greek Itineraries.

* Vol. i. p. 384.

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battle-piece were most important to Egypt. It is to be regretted that, through the great want of perspicuity of this form of chronicle, nothing beyond a general and vague outline can be so inferred as to be safely stated as history.

The fall of the Xoite kingdom evidently began with the campaign of the first year of SETHOS. The Upper Egyptian fanatic sold his aid against a foreign invasion to his weaker brother at Xois at so extortionate a price, and so rigidly exacted the payment, that the decline and final dissolution of the Xoite kingdom may be clearly referred to him. The large amount of concession of territory recorded as the reward of his services at the time, was evidently not the whole of the demand of SETHOS upon the Xoite king. Contributions either of forced service or other values were likewise to be paid to Upper Egypt, and more than the now limited means of the Xoite kingdom were able to furnish. It was to make up for these deficient payments that Lower Egypt ceded to SETHOS twenty cities and localities, besides those already given up in the course of his long reign. Their names are inscribed at the foot of the prefaces, and in dungeons as before. The unpaid subsidy or tribute seems the only way of accounting for this remarkable wearing away of the Xoite kingdom, which went on throughout the whole of the long reign of SETHOS, and which so lowered its territorial power, that it soon afterwards sank exhausted, an easy prey to the intrigues of his astute and warlike son, as we shall presently find.

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We have therefore made out clearly from this examination of the battle-piece of Karnak, that the hypostyle hall to which it serves as an entrance, was built with the forced labours of the inhabitants of the districts ceded to SETHOS by the Xoite king. We have likewise found, which is yet more important, that the fall of the Xoite kingdom visibly dates from the commencement of the reign of SETHOS.

A corresponding advance in outward prosperity must necessarily have resulted to Upper Egypt from the policy of SETHOS. The monuments of his reign tell, accordingly, of peaceful and prosperous times. Nevertheless, the fanatical and exclusive character of the religion of this king is strongly impressed upon all his constructions. Out of Thebes, the city of Amun, his name is scarcely to be found. Even at Heliopolis, the temple he built was dedicated to Amun, and not to Athom, the tutelary of the city.* His additions to the temple of Karnak, in eastern Thebes, were built with the stones of a vast construction erected by the negro schismatics to the disc of the sun,† which was razed to the very ground by HORUS, RAMSES, and SETHOS, and on its site and with its materials, the latter built a gorgeous temple to Amun, the especial abomination of the disc-worshippers. This palace was evidently the favourite work of SETHOS, to which the main energies of his life and reign were devoted. One cannot avoid perceiving in this energetic prince a desire to emulate the exclusiveness of the disc-worshippers, by

* Obelisco del Popolo, at Rome.

† This was the case with the propylea to the hypostyle hall (*above* p. 325).

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concentrating the devotion of Egypt, in Amun, the tutelary of his family.

The circumstance that the campaign of SETHOS was completed in the course of the first year of his reign, settles definitively the question as to the nationality of the foreigners represented in its picture history. It is not possible that they should have been inhabitants of a country more distant from Egypt than Palestine. Had it been so, the invasion and retreat could not have taken place within the twelve months. Yet are all the foreigners named on any of the monuments of Egypt (with very trifling exceptions), to be found among the enemies represented in this battle-piece. Thus clear is it, that the stories told to the Greeks regarding conquests in central Asia, by these ancient kings of Egypt, were fables.

It is equally certain that all the subjects of the Xoite kingdom in this ceded district were treated alike by SETHOS. They were liable to forced labours at the quarries, and at the constructions then in course of erection, according to the universal custom in the ancient world regarding newly-conquered countries, as we have often before explained. But there was not in his time a direct war of races between Egypt and Israel, as afterwards, neither were the whloe of the Israelites declared prisoners of war, plundered of their property, and seized upon as slaves. These excesses took place in the days of his son and successor, and with them the bondage in Egypt began.

The campaign of SETHOS, in his first year, was the grand event of his reign. It was of sufficient import-

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ance to call for other commemorations besides that we have already described.

The captured cities of the Delta are repeated on the base of a colossal sphinx in granite, which stood before the temple, dedicated by SETHOS to Amun, at Gournou, in western Thebes.

Another repetition of the same war is also sculptured on a temple, the ruins of which were discovered by Dr. Lepsius, at Redesieh, in the desert to the eastward of Assouan, on the extreme southern limit of Egypt. This temple was built in the ninth year of SETHOS; but the war it commemorates is that, the record of which we have already found at Karnak. The prisoners depicted are identical in name and order of occurrence, on both temples.

It would appear that the names of these captive cities, inscribed on each monument, were those of the native places of the prisoners employed in building it. This assumption is certainly required, to account for the perfectly arbitrary selection of Lower Egyptian names, inscribed on the different monuments of the reign of SETHOS, which are now before us. We therefore assume this to have been the case, and that the whole of this command of forced labour was the result of his first year's campaign.

Like everything else in this picture history, our estimate here must be made with the utmost care and caution, for the truth will assuredly prove to be much less than it appears at first sight. The sphinx at Gournou affords us a useful illustration of this necessity. There are forty-three captives represented upon

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its base; but when we come to examine them, we find that the first eleven on one side, and the first eight on the other, are mere repetitions of the generic names of districts, such as the lands of the south, the lands of the north, Nubia, the Shepherds, Naharain, and other similar names, put in for the sake of filling spaces. Of those that remain, also, several are repeated, so that the actual number of names of cities is nineteen, and even of these we cannot be certain that some have not been mentioned before, disguised under different homophons. The known names on this monument are Tanis, Alkam, Sebennytus, Kadesh-Barnea, Thanoub on the Canopic branch, which is twice repeated; Takebi on the Phathmetic branch, also twice repeated; Bubastis on the same branch, again twice repeated; Sais, twice repeated; Avaris or Leontopolis, twice repeated; and Manasseh in the Delta, also twice repeated. So that it will be observed that the whole of the separate places mentioned here are situated either in the Delta or the adjacent desert of Suez. It is the same in the desert temple of Redesieh. The eight northern prisoners depicted there, come from Tanis, Kadesh-Barnea, Migdol, Heliopolis, and Busiris, all situated in the Delta, as we need not repeat. Two of the names have been mutilated, and in the uppermost row one of the captives is a Canaanite, one of the Zuzim, or settlers in Egypt. These were in all probability the skilled artists who designed and superintended the work, which was executed by negroes. It has been exactly the same on the great wall of Karnak. The base rows of prisoners in both prefaces

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consist of localities in the Delta and in the adjacent desert, with one or two foreign names inserted.

It is needful to explain that our materials for the verification of these cities in Lower Egypt are but of an imperfect character. There are lists of names of places in the Delta, in the Greek Itineraries of the second and third centuries. There are also lists of the bishoprics of Egypt in many of the Copto-Arabic vocabularies (or *sellim*), which are now in the museums of Europe. In addition to these, the modern Arabic names of all localities in Egypt are mere corruptions of their ancient names. But all this material for an exact knowledge of the geography of the Delta, lies scattered over the world, and will not be collected and arranged without an enormous expenditure of mental labour. Pocock, Vansleb, and other ecclesiastics, have done something towards it, in their collections of the episcopal sees of Egypt. A far more efficient assistance to the student is the work of Champollion.* It is the result of his first labours in Egyptian literature, and is, indeed, a wonderful book to have been written by a boy of eighteen. Nevertheless, this invaluable collection is everywhere marred by the hasty and precipitate conclusions which are inevitable to extreme youth. It is likewise imperfect, and might be greatly enlarged, from the vast mass of materials upon the subject that have accumulated in the forty years that have elapsed since its publication.

Such being the present state of our geographical knowledge of the Delta, the following results are, we submit, satisfactory as to the names of the captives in

* *Egypte sous les Pharaons.*

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the base lines of the two prefaces at Karnak. Of the fifteen legible names on the left preface, eleven are those of cities in the Delta, and three of localities in the desert of Suez.* On the right jamb, twenty-one names only were ever inscribed on the base line, the other nine dungeons being left blank.† Nine of these also clearly identify themselves with localities in the same district. It is also further to be noted, that both lists commence with Pithom, the capture of which was the last exploit in the campaign of SETHOS, and which, as we have said, was at the mouth of the Phathmetic or easternmost main branch of the Nile. The name that follows next in both lists seems also to be that which the Arabs write Aboukir. It lies a few miles to the eastward of Alexandria, and at the mouth of the Canopic or westernmost main branch of the Nile. It seems to be conveyed by this arrangement, that SETHOS claimed the whole Delta, and that Alexandria had descended to his possession from his ancestors, as it is not mentioned in any of the lists of his conquests.‡

We apprehend the true state of the case in regard of the Xoite kingdom to stand thus. The heterogeneous materials, of which it was composed, rendered its government, under any circumstances, a task of great difficulty. Its population consisted of Zuzite, Shethite, Hittite, Arvadite, and Israelite, settlers; all dwelling in separate fortified cities, rigidly and zealously preserving

* Leps. iii. 129. † Rosellini, lxi.

‡ We do not give the other localities, all in the Delta, on these prefaces, the question being one of philology rather than of history.

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all their national distinctions, constantly at enmity, and often at open war with each other. Over the grassy plains of the Delta, the thousands of Israel, already a mighty host, wandered unmolested, as possessors of the soil; pitching their tents where they would, and uniting themselves with one or other of the adverse factions, as best suited their interests. In the midst of this vast tide of foreign immigrants, the power and authority of the sons of ASSES would inevitably be greatly crippled, and the number of their Mizraite subjects would not only be itself insignificant in comparison of the host around them, but would also waste away by the operation of a never-failing natural law, when different races of mankind are thus brought into contact with each other. The peculiarities of the minority disappear, and the weaker race become absorbed in the stronger. We had already noticed the symptoms of this in the cariacatures of Lower Egyptians, which appear on the monuments of THOTHMOSIS. Under these circumstances, it was a very natural procedure that the Xoite king should seek the aid of his Upper Egyptian relatives and connections at Thebes. We have seen that he did so, and we have also seen the price he paid for it. In these circumstances, the decline and fall of the Xoite kingdom may, we apprehend, be clearly traced. It is, however, absolutely certain, that it did not disappear during the reign of SETHOS, and that he was not the king who, as sovereign of the whole Delta, declared the entire tribe of Israel to be prisoners of war. We shall find the Xoite kingdom still in existence in the days of his successor;

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neither are the monuments of SETHOS sufficiently numerous to warrant us in assuming for a moment, that the forced labours of the whole host of Israel were at his command.

The other works of SETHOS in Egypt must now be described.

The palace-temple of Gournou, in western Thebes, is a fine monument of his reign. The sphinx we have described stood on one side of the *dromos*, or avenue, that led to its principal entrance. It was begun by him, and completed by his son. It is much inferior in size to the other great temples of Thebes. Its interior arrangement certainly countenances Champollion's idea that it was the residence of SETHOS. The whole internal surface is covered with reliefs, representing religious pageants. The god especially worshipped there was "Amun in the west," who is also entitled elsewhere "Amun-Re, ruler of the land of Monthra," or Mars, who, as we have explained,* had been from the first the local god of western Thebes. It certainly seems that the intrusion of Amun here also, had awakened some jealousies in the votaries of Monthra, as well as of other gods of Egypt, and that this was the beginning of an attempt to heal the schism by the fusion of both gods into one. The process was completed by the son of SETHOS, who dedicated a temple (also in western Thebes, the Memnonium), to Amun-Re and Monthra, under one impersonation.

The small temple at Redesieh, in the eastern desert,

* Vol i. p. 366.

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over against Assouan, was dedicated by SETHOS to Amun-Re, in combination with Nu, the god of water, at the issue of a canal from the Nile he had conducted thither, for the purpose of irrigating the warp in the vicinity, which (as we have said), had once been the bottom of the Lake of Ethiopia.* The few remains of it appear to have been beautifully executed. We have seen that it was finished in the ninth year of his reign.

At Silsilis, a tablet of SETHOS is engraven on the rock in his seventh year. It was probably from thence that he hewed the stone to build the temple of Redesieh.

The obelisc in the Piazza del Popolo, at Rome, once adorned the entrance to a temple of Amun, at Heliopolis (doubtless that of THOTHMOSIS), to which SETHOS made additions. We have seen that this city came into his possession in the first year of his reign. It was exactly what might have been anticipated from a monarch so devoted to his tutelary god, that he should dedicate a great construction to him in the capital of his newly-acquired territory.

A tablet at Sarbut-el-Chadim, in the gulf of Suez, tells us that SETHOS worked the copper-mines there in his twenty-second year.

A notable monument of the reign of SETHOS was his tomb, in the Biban-el-Malook. It is well known to all who have given any attention to Egyptian antiquities, as Belzoni's tomb. It is a vast series of galleries and halls underground, covered with painted reliefs, repre-

* Above, p. 133.

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senting mythic scenes connected with death and judgment, which was first discovered and opened by that unhappy enthusiast in the year 1819. The entire excavation extends for 320 feet.

Its discoverer took models in wax of the most striking subjects depicted in this beautiful tomb. If they still exist, they are of great value; for the vault itself is now so nearly defaced altogether, that to an indifferent traveller it does not repay the fatigue of a visit; while to him who really takes an interest in the question, it is a loathsome spectacle of wanton destruction, from the sight of which he is glad to escape.

This vast range of excavation, elaborately and profusely decorated, is, as we have often said, the sure sign of a long and prosperous reign. The other monuments of SETHOS, as well as the lists, fully bear out this indication.

Smaller monuments of SETHOS are not uncommon in the museums of Europe. The fine arts flourished greatly in his reign.

SETHOS had two wives. The name of the one was *Tsire*, and of the other *Tia*, who was also the mother of his successor.

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the reign of SETHOS, that no single tomb of any prince or courtier of his is known to exist, either at Gournou or in any other catacomb throughout Egypt. It very evidently appears from hence, that the number of forced labourers in the service of the Egyptians, in his times, by no means equalled those who wrought for THOTHMOSIS and his princes. We may even safely assume, that in this

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particular, others also of his far less noted predecessors had the advantage of him. We have already explained that the whole energies of Egypt, throughout his long reign, were directed by him, nearly exclusively, to the construction of the hypostyle hall at Karnak. The magnificent and extensive ruins of it, and the wonderful collection of battle-pieces on its external wall, have conferred upon him a higher reputation, both as a warrior and a king, than is borne out by a closer examination of his monumental history.

The true character of SETHOS appears very evidently in the mythic devices with which he has covered his constructions everywhere. None of his predecessors approach him in the fanatical exclusiveness of his worship of Amun. All the rest of the gods are mere priests and ministers of this his favourite idol; and when they are depicted together, the effigy of Amun is dilated to thrice the dimensions of that of any other god of Egypt.* Symptoms of the same bigotry appear, it is true, on the monuments both of his father and his grandfather; but if they are to be trusted, it had never yet been carried to the same excess by any king who had hitherto sat on the throne of Egypt. With this clear evidence before us of the Amonian bigotry of SETHOS, it cannot be doubted that he would follow, in Lower Egypt, the sacred prescription of his ancestors, in studiously erasing, from the monuments there also, that fell into his possession, all traces and memorials of the Xoite kings and their worship. Such seems to have been the policy of the sons of AMOSIS from the

* See Leps. iii. 125, &c.

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first. THOTHMOSIS and his three successors alone departed from it. We have already said that the fanaticism of the former has involved the history of their times in extreme perplexity. It is to the forbearance of the latter that we are indebted for the single thread that has guided us through the labyrinth.

The reign of SETHOS is said in the lists to have lasted for 55 years.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUCCESSOR OF SETHOS.—HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH THE SESOSTRIS OR SESOOSIS OF THE GREEKS.—THE NUMBER OF HIS MONUMENTS.—THE TRADITION REGARDING HIM BY HERODOTUS.—DIODORUS.—VISIT TO EGYPT OF GERMANICUS.—THE EXPLOITS OF RHAMSES RELATED TO HIM.—CLEARLY FABLES INVENTED AT THE TIME.—WAR IN HIS 5TH YEAR ON THE MONUMENTS AT LUXOR, GOURNOU, ABOU-SIMBEL.—THE HISTORY IN IT.—A MERE REPULSION OF AN INVASION.—NO WAR AFTERWARDS OF EQUAL MAGNITUDE.—HISTORY OF THEM.—WORKS OF SESOSTRIS ACCORDING TO THE GREEKS.—ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.—ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF FORCED LABOURERS AT HIS COMMAND.—IMPOSSIBILITY THAT THEY COULD HAVE BEEN PRISONERS OF WAR.—HIS TREATY WITH SHETH IN THE 21ST YEAR OF HIS REIGN.—THE CESSION OF THE ENTIRE XOITE KINGDOM.—ITS TERMS.—THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ISRAELITES.—THEY WERE THE FORCED LABOURERS OF SESOSTRIS.—CHRONOLOGICAL PROOFS.—BIRTH OF MOSES.—PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.—QUEEN THOUORIS.—HER MARRIAGE WITH THE INFANT-HEIR OF THE XOITE THRONE.—REIGN OF SESOSTRIS.—ITS DURATION.

Ramses II. (Sesostris).

Sesostris was the hero of the traditive history of Egypt, narrated to Greek and Roman travellers by the priests and guides of the classical times. It has been assumed that he was a fabulous personage, like our own Arthur, enjoying the honours of the great exploits,

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both in war and peace, of all the kings that went before and followed him.

Nothing was, at first sight, more likely than that such a confusion should have taken place. We have already noticed that SESORTOSIS II. was marked out as this hero by one compiler of the lists, because his name resembled *Sesostris*, and because his brother and successor was a great warrior. But, nevertheless, it is certainly not the case to any appreciable extent. The correspondence between the SESOSTRIS of the tradition and the greatest king of the monuments is very complete; far more so than might have been anticipated, when the very different natures of these two modes of perpetuating facts are taken into the account. So that it is scarcely possible to present a more satisfactory identification than that of the SESOSTRIS of the Greek tradition, with the son and successor of SETHOS on the monuments.

The vague and uncertain nature of the information contained in the lists is strikingly illustrated in the instance before us. The successor of SETHOS is merely written there *Rampses*, *Rapsakes*, or *Armesses-Miammou*, who reigned for 61 or 66 years. No historical remark accompanies the name, and the great SESOSTRIS glides into oblivion, amid a mob of his far less famous forefathers and obscure successors, unnoticed and unknown. The deplorable want of precision and exactness, evidenced by this strange omission, we have elsewhere frequently pointed out on other similar occasions. The correctness of the entry itself we shall also be able fully to establish, with the abatement of the clerical

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errors in writing the name. It is therefore clear that the true history lies hid beneath this blunder.

According to the tablet of Abydos (B 50, 51), and other hieroglyphic genealogies innumerable, the successor of the monumental SETHOS was a king whose name is thus written:

i. e., (*ra-me-rois*), "vigilant sun of justice;" (*amn-meh-ramss*), "the absorbed of Amun, RAMSES" (*i. e.*, born of the sun). The lists and the monuments are therefore agreed as to this succession; so that it is satisfactorily established by both authorities, that the successor of SETHOS was RAMSES.

This name varies on different monuments. The first ring is often surcharged with an additional title, thus: the second ring remains the same. In some instances, these two forms occur on the same monument. On other occasions, the name was at first written without the surcharge, which has been added afterwards. Champollion, while in Egypt, was of opinion that by this surcharge another individual was intended, and that two sons of SETHOS, both named *Ramses*, sat on the throne of Egypt after his death. Lepsius, on the other hand, considers this variation as unimportant, and makes both transcriptions the name of one and the same monarch. We have no doubt of his correctness. The title is borne in surcharge on certain occasions by more than one of the

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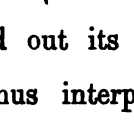
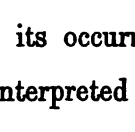
predecessors of RAMSES. The following are examples of it.

THOTHMOSIS at Elephantine.

AMENOPHIS-MEMNON at Luxor.

SETHOS at Gournou.

These examples might easily be multiplied.

The meaning of this added title was ascertained by Champollion. The Ptolemaic epithet, "whom Phtha hath approved," mentioned in the Greek of Rosetta (line 3), he found on other monuments of the same era written thus: . He inferred that the first character of this group must mean "proved or tried."* He also pointed out its occurrence in the group  , often thus interpreted  . Here it is evidently the initial of the word *stp*, the Coptic equivalent of which is the verb CHTH, "to try," "to prove." This gave him the thing represented. It is the adze, or cutting-hammer, wherewith the texture of stones and other hard materials was proved by the masons of Ancient Egypt. It is here represented in the act of being applied to a stone for the purpose of proving it.† The title before us, therefore,

* ἐδοκίμασεν.

† The crooked handle was universally applied in Ancient Egypt to all tools used by striking.

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reads *stp-n-ra*, and means, "proved [or rather penetrated, pervaded] by the sun." It often interchanges with another title, *oth-ra*, "melted [dissolved] into the sun." The import of the two is nearly the same.

The monarch before us seems to have permanently assumed this surcharge out of respect to his ancestor HORUS, on some great occasion in the history of his life, and very soon after the commencement of his reign.

We have already ascertained in every instance that has come before us, that the Greek versions of the names of the kings of Egypt were founded upon titles in the rings in which their hieroglyphic names were written. It is so with the king before us. His name in the lists, RAMSES, occurs in his Upper Egyptian ring, which is exactly in order, for the 19th dynasty, in which he is arranged, is said to be one of Theban kings. The name hellenized into Σέσωστρις by Herodotus, and into Σεσόωσις by Diodorus, was communicated to them by the Lower Egyptian priesthood as that of the greatest of the Pharaohs. We therefore naturally look for the title thus transmuted, in the Lower Egyptian ring of the greatest king of the monuments. When completed by the surcharge, the whole name reads thus—*ra-me-rois-sotp-ra*. That this long appellative would be shortened in ordinary discourse is, we submit, highly probable. It is equally so, that the surcharge last assumed would be the portion which, on account of its higher distinction, would not be rejected. We therefore assume that the name was repeated to

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the travellers by the priests or guides under the form of *is-sotp-ra* or *se-sotp-ra;* the first title being implied by the retention of its last syllable, the last and most honourable one being pronounced in full. This we believe to have been the word which the travellers accommodated to the tongues and ears of their countrymen, under the disguises of *Sesostris* and *Sesoosis.*

The monumental pre-eminence of the king, whose name is thus identified, over all those that went before and that followed him on the throne of Egypt, is the next point which we have to establish. This statement is easy to verify. The number of kings who have inscribed their names on monuments, from the foundation of the monarchy to its final absorption in the Macedonian empire, under PTOLEMY LAGUS, amounts to upwards of 150, and they ruled Egypt for very nearly 2000 years. *The memorials of the reign of* SESOSTRIS-RAMSES *exceed in number those of the whole of them collectively.* This will be found true, whether the reckoning is made from the monuments now in the museums of Europe, or those that still remain scattered over the surface of all that ever was called Egypt. The enormous preponderance of the memorials of the reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES over those of any other Pharaoh appears at once, wherever the remains of Ancient Egypt are indiscriminately collected together. So that no fact can be easier of proof than that he was, monumentally, by far the greatest king that ever sat on the throne of that kingdom.

SESOSTRIS-RAMSES being thus clearly identified on the monuments, in the Greek histories, and in the

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lists, we commence his history with the tradition regarding him, delivered to the classical historians by the priests.

Before quoting them, it will be needful to give the caution with which Diodorus Siculus (an accurate and trustworthy writer) prefaces his own version of the history of SESOSTRIS. He tells us that the accounts of him written by the Greeks differed materially. The same was also the case with the priests in Egypt. His expressions leave us to infer that the temple versions of the story varied greatly among themselves. He makes the same complaint even of the poets, probably the guides or dragomans, who accompanied foreign travellers. Their accounts of the exploits of SESOSTRIS were discordant with each other.* This admission seems scarcely to have received the notice to which it is entitled, from the modern investigators of Egyptian history. It is of high importance to such an inquiry, to discover that at the commencement of our era, when the temples of Egypt were standing, and their ritual was in full exercise, not only had many discordant versions of the exploits of SESOSTRIS been collected by the Greeks, but that traditions equally various and contradictory were still being repeated to strangers visiting Egypt, by the ministers of the temples.

Traditions so circumstanced at the time of their

* Περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως [Σεσοωσίως] οὐ μόνον οἱ συγγραφεῖς σοὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλεσι διαπεφωνήκασι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντες, οὐχ ὁμολογούμενα λέγουσιν (Diodorus i. 53).

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delivery must be examined with great care, and received with much caution, if the results at which we may arrive are to possess any title to be received as exact history.

When SESOSTRIS was born, his father took a step which was every way worthy of a king. He collected together all the male children who were born on the same day throughout the whole of Egypt, appointing to each of them nurses and needful attendants. These were all brought up under the same roof with his son, and subjected to the same diet and discipline in infancy, and to the same education in their boyhood. Their studies and pastimes were all in common. They were especially trained together in the use of arms, and all other exercises befitting skilful and efficient warriors.*

The institution mentioned in this passage we have found to have existed in Egypt long before the times of SESOSTRIS, and apparently to date from the foundation of the monarchy. A troop of male children certainly were collected on the birth of the heir-apparent, who were brought up together with him in a palace or temple, devoted to this purpose and richly endowed. This nursery is not unfrequently mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions. In the tomb of Nehotp, at Beni-hassan, it is entitled "the house of *stn-amt*, the royal nurslings of Lower Egypt."† In the "Book of the Dead," it is also frequently mentioned under the title of "the abode of the king's children." This custom likewise appears in the representa-

* Diod. *u.s.* † Col. 69 (see above, p. 28).

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tions of kings in their infancy, on the walls of the temples throughout Egypt. The infant king, generally in the arms of a male nurse, seems to be repeated many times over; so that, in some instances, a row of infants and nurses fills the whole plane on a long wall. This is frequent on the old palace of Luxor. By this was doubtless intended the king and his troop of *Heteri*, as we have elsewhere entitled them. We have seen that the names given to these companions of the king were at first his own name in a ring, accompanied by the epithet "living," but afterwards his name only without the ring. The Greek historian, therefore, seems rightly to have described the pupilage of SESOSTRIS. He only erred in making that peculiar to him which was common to all the kings of Egypt.

When SESOSTRIS and his braves were arrived at man's estate, the king, his father, sent them forth, at the head of a force, on a military expedition into Arabia. Here, by their habits of hardihood and endurance, they were enabled to defy the heat and drought of the desert, and to subdue and make tributary to Egypt peoples and districts which had never before been conquered. Afterwards he sent him to the south-westward, where he conquered the principal part of Lybia.* These feats he accomplished during his father's lifetime, and while he was yet a youth in age and stature.†

This particular also has some foundation in fact. We have found it to have been a sacred prescription of the monarchy, that Pharaoh should signalize the

* That is, Western Africa. † Diod. *u. s.*

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year of his accession by feats of arms against the northern and southern enemies of Egypt. Many of the predecessors of SESOSTRIS did accordingly so distinguish themselves, and among them none more notably than SETHOS, his father.

To confirm this probability, we have direct monumental evidence. The *speos*, or cavern-temple, of Beit-oually, in Lower Nubia, was executed by the king before us, at the time when his Lower Egyptian ring was unsurcharged, and therefore at the commencement of his reign. It is of great extent, consisting of two large halls, opening the one into the other. The outermost or vestibule has its walls covered with pictures of the king's exploits in war. On those to the right, he conquers Asiatic enemies, and Africans on the left hand walls. These reliefs are not without artistic merit. They are well known in England. Casts from them are in the British Museum.

The pictures on the right are visible imitations of those of SETHOS on the external wall of Karnak. The king is represented here, as there, routing armies and taking forts, single-handed, and performing other impossible feats. There is also a preface, which represents the young hero in the act of braining two Asiatics, bound to a stake, whereby the two actions of the war are symbolized. They consisted of the rout of an army of Jebusites, and of the capture of one of their strongholds. This agrees with the account of the first campaign of SESOSTRIS preserved by Diodorus. It was in Arabia, that is, in the deserts of Suez and of Sinai; and we have already found that the Jebusites had

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ranged these deserts from very early times.* He was confederate in this war both with Arvad and Heth, that is, with Lower Egypt. Of course, the king has already conquered them, and after the war leads them in triumph; but this is the only mode of representing foreign allies on these reliefs. They are subdued enemies. The whole affair was evidently an inconsiderable one. It was probably nothing more than the presence of the young king, with his attendants, at some action of war, undertaken by the Xoite Pharaoh, who, as we have seen, was the ally of SETHOS throughout his whole reign. It seems most probable that SESOSTRIS was, in the year of this war, associated with his father on the throne, and that the royal name conferred upon him on this occasion was without the surcharge.

The reliefs to the left of this entrance-hall resemble those of the opposite wall, in giving a large, imposing picture of an action of no importance.

In the first scene, SESOSTRIS is on his throne, and the viceroy of Nubia comes before him. His name was *amn-m-opt*,† i.e., "Amun in Thebes." He seems always at this time to have been of the blood royal. He brings a present of rare woods, elephants' teeth, rings and bars of gold, and

* Above, p. 31.

† *opt*, or *top*, is "a cradle." The name means "Amun in his cradle." It was abbreviated into *top*, and made the trivial name of the capital of Upper Egypt, which arrogated to itself the honour of being the birth-place of Amun. This word the Copts wrote ⲑⲱⲡ, and the Greeks Θῆβαι.

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other valuables. Together with these are a giraffe, an ostrich, lions, oxen with their horns moulded into the form of human hands,* and a few captive negroes, men, women, and children. The viceroy had evidently made a successful attack upon one of his weak and unprepared neighbours in the oases of the western desert. As a reward for this service, he is invested with a collar of gold; and the young king, it would seem, resolved to follow up his success.

In the next picture SESOSTRIS appears in his chariot, his horses are at full gallop, and he shoots arrows at a crowd of negroes, who, seized with panic, throw away their clubs and bows, and seek shelter in a wood. At the other end, a negro chief, mortally wounded, is carried on the shoulders of his attendants to his wife and children, who, in the agonies of despair, run off in various directions, to avoid the fearful sight. Further on, a negro woman is quietly pursuing her household occupations, in utter ignorance of the misfortunes that are coming upon her. These little incidents are depicted with much truth and feeling. The artist intended to convey by them that the exploit of SESOSTRIS was a sudden irruption into a district quite unprepared for the attack, and unconscious that the Egyptians were their enemies. Such we might have also inferred from the narrative of Diodorus. It is therefore clear that the reliefs and the history both commemorate the same circumstances. SESOSTRIS signalized the year of

* This barbarous custom is said to exist at the present day among some of the Galla tribes in tropical Africa. It is effected by means of hot irons.

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his association with his father on the throne of Egypt, by an action of war in the desert of Arabia, and by a predatory attack upon the oases of Lybia. From the last of these he returned to Beitoually, or Kalabshe, in Lower Nubia, where his prisoners were employed in the construction of a cavern-temple dedicated to Amun of Thebes, in combination with Nuh, the god of water. The extensive remains, both of houses and fortifications, that surround this locality, render it probable that it was the capital of Nubia, and the residence of the viceroy, at this time.

The wars of SESOSTRIS, when he arrived at man's estate, have furnished a theme for some of the most eminent of the historians of classical antiquity. The genuineness of their narratives has never yet been called in question. Far from it, they are generally accounted the most important accession to our knowledge of Ancient Egypt which these historians have furnished. We will consider them in the order of their seniority.

Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who visited Egypt about 440 B.C., ends his narrative of the foreign wars of SESOSTRIS * with a description of the tablets which this king caused to be engraven on the rocks of the countries he had conquered, commemorating his victories over them. "The greater part of them," he tells us, "are no longer extant." He himself saw some of them yet remaining, and with their inscriptions legible in Syrian Palestine. There were also two in Asia Minor, the one on the road from Ephesus to

* ii. 106.

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Phocis, the other between Sardis and Smyrna. These he had not seen himself. He was informed of their existence while in Egypt. He then explains the pictures, and translates the inscriptions on these tablets.* Neither the one nor the other presents anything in common with the originals, beyond a very rough and general outline. The symbols and the sentiments are alike foreign to the modes of thought in Ancient Egypt.

The credibility of this author we have elsewhere endeavoured to estimate. Herodotus has described faithfully whatever he had seen himself, but he was credulous and superstitious; and knowing no language but Greek, was easily imposed upon in a foreign country. The utmost advantage was taken of all this during his visit to Egypt. His account of the tablets of SESOSTRIS exactly bears out our estimate. The greater part of them, he tells us, had disappeared. This remark was suggested by his own observation. Himself had travelled over many of the countries said to have been conquered by SESOSTRIS; but he had only seen the tablets in one country, and heard of them in another. He therefore assumes that everywhere else they must have perished.

The whole of his statement will require consideration.

The tablets of SESOSTRIS, seen by the historian in Syrian (*i.e.*, in North) Palestine, are also extant at this day. They are engraven on the rocks that overhang the northern bank of the Nahr-el-Kelb, the ancient river Lycus, which divided Palestine from Syria. As

* ii. 106, also c. 102.

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to the tablets in Asia Minor, the historian had not seen them himself, though he had travelled a good deal in that country. Neither are they known to exist at the present day, though extensive researches have long been made among its many ancient monuments. These two circumstances suffice to render their existence questionable. It may be remembered, that when we first mentioned Herodotus,* we cited an instance in which he had been grossly imposed upon by his interpreter; and from the nature of the fraud, we inferred that the cheat was a Phrygian. The questionable statement now before us also occurs in the same country; evidently, therefore, it rested on the authority of the same dragoman or interpreter, who, being cognizant of his master's movements, took care to place the two tablets of SESOSTRIS in Asia Minor, on roads by which he had not himself travelled.

We have now only to deal with the historian's conjecture, that the tablets must have perished in the many countries he is said to have conquered. It could not have been from the effects of the weather; for Herodotus lived scarcely a thousand years after the times of SESOSTRIS, and the more than two thousand that have since elapsed have not effaced the memorials of the days of Herodotus, and much earlier, from the rocks of nearly all these countries. It is equally improbable that they would be erased by the hand of man. This could only have happened, had the conquered people been the inhabitants of some civilized and populous country, and if the insulting

* Vol. i. pp. 178, 236.

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nature of the inscribed tablets had been understood by them; and where, in the ancient world, were these conditions so likely to have been fulfilled as on the banks of the Lycus, the boundary between the two flourishing kingdoms of Phenicia (*i.e.*, Tyre and Sidon), and Syria? Yet is this the single locality, among all those indicated as the conquests of SESOSTRIS, in which his tablets have been known to exist, either in the days of Herodotus or in the present day. *A fortiori*, therefore, had the conqueror engraved similar trophies of victory in the far more thinly-populated districts of Armenia, Asia Minor and Thrace, they would have been extant in the days of Herodotus, and in all probability in our days also. They are not known to have existed at either period, as we need not repeat.

The account of the conquests of SESOSTRIS, narrated by the Egyptian priests to Herodotus, is as follows.

This king was the first to build ships of war on the Arabian Gulf, *i.e.*, the Red Sea. With them he traversed the entire length of it, subduing the nations that inhabited its coasts. He entered the Erythræan Sea (the Indian Ocean), over which he sailed until it was no longer navigable, pursuing still his career of conquest over the inhabitants of its shores. He then marched inland, at the head of his vast army, and overran the continent of Asia, subduing everywhere the inhabitants of the countries he passed through. Crossing over into Europe, he overcame the Scythians and Thracians. The historian concluded that this was the extent of the conquests of SESOSTRIS in Europe, because he himself was acquainted with Thessaly, Mace-

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donia, and Greece, which lay to the southward of those districts, and no tablets commemorating his conquests were to be found there. He therefore seems to suppose that SESOSTRIS, having crossed into Europe by the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the Sea of Azoff), returned to Asia by the Thracian Bosphorus (the Dardanelles). He likewise imagined that the traces of the return of this expedition through Asia Minor were to be discovered in certain affinities between the manners of the Colchians, on the banks of the river Phasis, and the Egyptians; whence he infers that SESOSTRIS must have colonized some portion of his army there.* For this suggestion, also, Herodotus was, in all probability, indebted to his Phrygian interpreter.

SESOSTRIS returned to Egypt with a vast troop of prisoners, taken in the many countries he had conquered. On his arrival at the city of Daphne, on the Pelusiac branch, the palace in which he and his sons, who had come thither to meet him, were banqueting, was surrounded with faggots, and set on fire by his brother, whom he had made viceroy of Egypt during his absence. Two of his sons flung themselves into the burning mass, and over their bodies SESOSTRIS and the rest of his family rushed through the flames and escaped.† Having punished these conspirators, SESOSTRIS employed his captives in many ornamental and useful works, the nature of which must be hereafter considered.‡

This account of the foreign conquests of SESOSTRIS is a remarkable one in many ways. The author's sense

* ii. 102—105. † *u. s.* § 107. ‡ *Idem*, § 108, *seq.*

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of religion did not permit him for a moment to doubt the truth of the narrative of the priests; but yet his own personal experience and knowledge hampered it with impossibilities and difficulties. It had been related to him that SESOSTRIS set sail from Egypt with a fleet of war-galleys on the Red Sea; and that, having conquered all nations in Asia and Europe, and everywhere sculptured the tablets of his victories, he returned to Egypt again at Daphne, in the Pelusiac nome. But Herodotus had himself seen more of the countries of the then known world than any other living man. He was therefore in condition to state that no tablets of SESOSTRIS existed, save in one place in Palestine, and that all memory of his conquests had utterly perished everywhere. Yet to have stated this would have implicated the tradition with falsehood. He therefore preferred sending the Egyptian hero through the regions which he had not visited, and which were in his days all but unknown. SESOSTRIS and his fleet navigated the Erythræan Sea as far as possible, that is, up to the place whence the sun arose every morning. All beyond that was believed to be perpetual mist and darkness. Of the shores of this sea Herodotus knew nothing. He was equally ignorant of the regions lying eastward of Mesopotamia, and northward of Syria. It was the same with Scythia and Thrace in Europe. They were vast undefined regions, of which next to nothing was known in his days. Through these, therefore, the victorious progress of SESOSTRIS might have taken place, and the memorials and traditions of it might exist in districts as yet

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unexplored, and among peoples hitherto unvisited. He endeavoured to verify the narrative of the priests by the fancied and fabled traces of the return of SESOSTRIS through Asia Minor, and by the tablets which he himself had seen on the banks of the Lycus in Palestine.

The next author in the order of priority is Diodorus Siculus. He was in Egypt 400 years after Herodotus, that is, about 40 B.C. We have already quoted his account of the infancy and youth of SESOSTRIS (or *Sesoosis*, as he writes the name), and also his complaint of the extreme vagueness of all the traditions regarding this hero in his days.

He prefaces his account of the wars of SESOSTRIS, after the death of his father, with a string of rumours which he had collected in Egypt. He or his parents, or both, had strong presentiments, and many supernatural warnings, that he was born to conquer the world.* This is so perceptibly a mere reflection of the well-known story regarding Alexander the Great, that it needs neither refutation nor further notice.

Immediately on the death of his father, SESOSTRIS began the preliminary arrangements which his kingdom required, and the collection of his army, in order that he might leave Egypt, and go forth to conquer the world.† His army amounted to 600,000 footmen, 240,000 horsemen, and 27,000 war-chariots. He officered this vast force with his *Heteri*, or body-guards, who were more than 1700 in number, and who loved him and each other like brothers.‡

* i. 53. † Alexander again. ‡ § 54.

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The first exploit of this army, after leaving Egypt, was the conquest of the Ethiopians, whom they subdued in battle, and put to a tribute of ebony, gold and elephants' teeth. SESOSTRIS then sent 400 long ships, or war-galleys, to the Red Sea.* On these he and his army embarked, and conquered the whole of the coasts and islands, both of it and of the continent as far as India. Here the hero landed, and, at the head of his army, overran and conquered all Asia; not only reaching the utmost bounds of the conquests of Alexander of Macedon, but also subduing countries which the latter had never invaded; for he crossed the river Ganges, and passed through the whole of India as far as the Ocean, and through the Scythian nations up to the river Tanais, which separates Europe from Asia. Here it was supposed that he had colonized some of his soldiers on the banks of the lake Meotis, who founded the nation of the Colchians. Diodorus supposes that they must be of Egyptian extraction, because they used the rite of circumcision like the Jews, who had also been a long time in Egypt.†

In the same manner SESOSTRIS subdued the whole of Asia and the principal part of the isles of the Cyclades. He then passed into Europe, and overran Thrace, where he had nearly lost his army through the

* How the ships were got there, and from whence, he does not explain. He repeats the story of Herodotus, that SESOSTRIS was the first to navigate the Red Sea.

† Herodotus supposes that the Colchians were from Egypt, because of their dark complexions and curly hair (*u.s.* 104); and also because they had the use of flax (105). He likewise mentions circumcision.

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scarcity of provision and the difficulties of the route. He therefore made Thrace the extent of his expedition, sculpturing tablets in many of the places he had subdued. Of these tablets, Diodorus gives an account similar to that of Herodotus, and principally copied from him.

Having performed all these exploits, which occupied nine years, and far exceeded those of any king who had gone before him, the hero returned to Egypt with innumerable captives and other spoils of war. With these he adorned Egypt with temples and other constructions of beauty and utility, so that he became the most famous of all the kings of Egypt.*

It is plain at a glance that these two narratives are mainly copied the one from the other. This was to be expected. The high reputation enjoyed by Herodotus in the times of Diodorus would almost necessitate such a course to him. He had also explained, that amid the many conflicting accounts that were current in his days regarding this ancient hero, he should select those that appeared most credible; and there cannot be a doubt but that he would, under such circumstances, avail himself as largely as possible of the high authority of his predecessor.

If we compare the two, it will be perceived that Diodorus gives currency and consistency to the older version, by infusing into it the notions regarding the conquest of the world, to which the exploits of Alexander the Great had given birth, and by squaring it up to the far more extended and precise geographical

* c. 55.

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knowledge which then prevailed. It was not known in the days of Herodotus that India was on the coast of the Erythræan Sea, nor that the Ganges flowed into it. All this Diodorus engrafts into the story. He imitates the caution of his predecessor as closely as his narrative. The march of Alexander through Persia, Bactria and India, all countries to the eastward of the known world of Herodotus, had brought to light no traces of the conquests or trophies of our Ancient Egyptian hero. He therefore places his route still further to the eastward. He makes him cross the Indian peninsula, brings him over the Ganges, and from thence back again to the banks of the Tanais, through the altogether unexplored and unknown regions of Scythia. He once more imitates Herodotus in confining the European conquests of SESOSTRIS to Thrace only. The sudden return from thence to Egypt, through Asia Minor and Palestine, he endeavours to account for by the sufferings of the Egyptian army from the mountains, the marshes, and the climate, of that inhospitable region. This also was knowledge which had been acquired since the former epoch. Thrace was *terra incognita* to the Greeks of the days of Herodotus. The incident is brought in to clear up a difficulty in the older narrative, whence it was not easy to understand why our invincible hero stopped short in his career of European conquest, without also overrunning Thessaly, Macedon and Greece. The incident was obviously suggested to Diodorus or his informants by the sufferings of the armies of Alexander, in endeavouring to reach the oasis of Ammon.

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We have yet another and later version of the exploits of this hero of the Egyptian priesthood, also from the pen of an author of high reputation. Tacitus, the Roman historian, gives an account of the visit to Egypt of the unhappy prince Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius, A.D. 19; that is, about sixty years after Diodorus.* The tenor of the narrative renders it probable that Tacitus, then a very young man, was himself in the train of the prince on this occasion. Germanicus travelled through the whole of Egypt for the purpose of exploring its wonders. At Thebes he was astonished at the vast reliefs which covered the walls of its great temples, and asked one of the learned among the priests to interpret for him the hieroglyphic inscriptions that accompanied them. He was informed, in reply, that in old times the armies of Egypt amounted to 700,000 men. One of the ancient kings, named *Rhamses*, went forth at the head of this host, and subjugated Lybia, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, and Scythia. He likewise held under his dominion Armenia and Cappadocia, as well as Bithynia on one coast of Asia Minor, and Lycia on the other.

A list of the tributes imposed upon these conquered nations was read to the Roman prince. The weight of gold and silver, the number of arms and horses, the quantity of ivory, of incense for the temples, of corn and other properties exacted from each nation, were enumerated. These tributes equalled in amount those which were collected by the kings of Persia, and even by imperial Rome.

* Annales ii. 60.

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It is obvious that Germanicus heard at Thebes of the same hero and the same campaign as were boasted of to Herodotus and Diodorus by the priests of Memphis and Heliopolis. To these the hero was known by his title in Lower Egypt, which was SESOSTRIS, or *Sesoosis*; but Thebes was in the upper country, and the Upper Egyptian name of the same monarch was RAMSES, as we have already explained. When, however, the three versions are compared together, the enormous discrepancies have tempted some modern students to imagine *Sesostris*, *Sesoosis* and *Rhamses*, to have been three different kings, and that the world was thrice conquered by Ancient Egypt; forgetting the impossibility that such an honour could have perished from the *kompologies* of her priesthood. These variations at any rate amply justify the complaint of Diodorus. The traditions were so vague that it was impossible to say what was true in them.

When the particulars wherein the version of Tacitus differs from the two older versions are carefully considered, the craft of the priestly narrators becomes very apparent. Much of the public life of Germanicus had been passed in Germany, Dacia, and Thrace. The successes of their hero in Europe are therefore prudently omitted. In Asia he was only acquainted with Syria and Palestine. They, also, are omitted, in consequence; for the tablets on the Lycus would not have been enough for their purpose. Germanicus would naturally look for more memorials of the conqueror than these. But he knew nothing personally of the regions to the northward and eastward of Syria and

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Palestine; and in his days it was only by personal visits and inquiries that any precise knowledge was attainable. He was in the same condition in regard of Africa. His acquaintance with it was confined to Egypt only. In the rest of both continents, therefore, their hero performed his fabulous exploits, without any fear of the detection of their fraud from the personal observations of Germanicus. We are compelled to say that this looks very like premeditated falsehood on the part of the priests. They told Germanicus that which they did not themselves believe; but, on the other hand, knew to be untrue, from the tenor of the very inscriptions which they professed to interpret to him.

The list of the tribute so exactly resembles that which we lately read on the internal walls of Karnak, relating to the so-called conquests of THOTHMOSIS, that we are tempted to infer that the Roman prince stood before these very inscriptions; if, indeed, similar inscriptions did not once exist on the south external wall of the same range of palaces, which was altogether the work of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, and which is, at this day, greatly dilapidated. The fidelity of the Roman historian is, in any case, fully borne out by this strong coincidence. It may likewise be recollected, that when engaged upon those inscriptions, we more than once expressed our apprehensions, that the numbers and the values were both grossly exaggerated. The passage before us, we submit, renders this our conjecture absolutely certain. It is not possible that the revenue of the temple at Karnak, or of any other temple in

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Egypt, should, in the days of SESOSTRIS, have really borne a moment's comparison with the wealth of the Persian or of the Roman empires. The comparison would appear preposterous were we to extend it to the whole revenue of Egypt in the days of SESOSTRIS; but this we are not in position to do. The inscription on the wall of a temple was read to Germanicus, and these invariably refer to the affairs of the temple only. We have but to state, then, the fact that, according to the interpretation of the priest to Germanicus, the revenues of the temple in which he then stood had equalled those either of the Persian or Roman empires in the days of RAMSES; and the enormous mendacity, either of the inscriptions, or of their interpreters, or of both, becomes sufficiently apparent.

The three versions of the story of the wars of SESOSTRIS being now before us, we cannot too early or too plainly state that they are all infected with the notions in vogue at the times of their narration, and that this circumstance alone deprives them of all claim to acceptance as true history. In the story of Herodotus, we detect the ghost of Cambyses or of Xerxes, gliding over the world, and returning to Egypt in the arms and trappings of SESOSTRIS, in order to bring to the narrating priests, their religion and their country, a harvest of that particular glory which the exploits of those Persian kings had brought into especial esteem in their days. The Sesoosis of Diodorus the Greek, was an Egyptian Alexander the Great, surpassing, of course, the feats of the Macedonian hero in the extent of his conquests, and bringing his expedition to

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a far happier issue. The Rhamses of Germanicus, on the other hand, is a Julius Cæsar, or an Augustus, or an Antony. He conquers the world, and makes Thebes, in ancient days, the Rome of the then present days. All this, we repeat, is more than suspicious. It completes our detection of the fraud which we have, from the first, asserted to be the basis of the whole story. The priests modulated their tradition so as to make the greatest of their kings a hero, according to the notions of heroism the most prevalent and in vogue with the persons to whom they related his history.

We have yet further to state on this point, and with the same explicitness, that no such idea as the conquest of the world had presented itself to the mind of Egypt in the days of the monarch whose monumental history is now before us. Egypt alone was the world of Egypt, and its entire subjugation to the Theban sceptre was the loftiest pitch to which the ambition of the Pharaohs had ever soared at any epoch. Foreign conquest was utterly abhorrent to their modes of thought. The districts watered by the Nile constituted the only country in the world worth possessing. The sons of Mizraim were the only beings worthy to bow to the sceptre of Pharaoh. The men of all other nations were inferior and degraded races, and their countries unclean and abominable. The highest honour to which a foreigner could aspire in Egypt was to be a slave; and to minister to her luxuries, was his country's highest distinction. What charms, we repeat, could foreign conquests have for a nation holding

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sentiments like these, and with whom, even to overpass the bounds of Egypt implied ceremonial pollution?

These considerations will have prepared the reader for the statement that the wars of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES recorded on the monuments bear no resemblance whatever to the clearly fabulous exploits of the Egyptian hero of these ancient historians.

We have already explained the vast number of the extant monuments of the reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. So numerous are they that we shall not attempt any detailed notice of the whole of them, but confine ourselves to those that illustrate the history of his reign.

Like his father, and many of his predecessors, the earliest of the warlike exploits of SESOSTRIS was the grand event of his reign. It took place in his fifth year, and, as this is the first date in which his name appears with the surcharge, we assume that it was the year of his father's death, and of his accession to the undivided sovereignty of Thebes. Such was the importance of this campaign, that its details are commemorated upon the external walls of no fewer than three of the greatest constructions that remain in Egypt. In Eastern Thebes, this war covers the propylea that formed the entrance to the new palace of LUXOR. They are again repeated in Western Thebes, on the propylea and outer walls of the great temple called by the French the Memnonium. Our third copy, which is the most perfect of all, covers the walls of the spacious vestibule which forms the entrance to the vast cavern-temple of Abou-Simbel, in Lower Nubia. As all three are in a very fair state of preservation, and

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as the last, which is also the largest, is nearly perfect, the particulars of this campaign are detailed very amply, though by no means very lucidly.

The New Palace of Luxor.

This construction is in the close vicinity of the palace of Tai and of Memnon, which we have already described;* but it is, nevertheless, altogether distinct from it. The only portion of the interior of this palace that is now traceable, is a large peristyle court or hall, every pillar and architrave of which bears the name of Sesostris-Ramses. The plan of the original building is not now distinguishable; for the entire city of Luxor is built upon the site, and the mud walls of its houses lean upon the ruins. The grand entrance faces the north, and, before the removal of the obelisk to the right by the French, was perfect. Two obelisks, each seventy feet high, stood furthest from the palace. Immediately behind them are two sitting colossi in red granite of Sesostris-Ramses, and on each side of the gateway is a massive or propylon, in the form of a truncated pyramid, and more than fifty feet high. An architrave, which serves also for the lintel, passes from the one propylon to the other. On the massive, to the right on entering, is a picture which covers the whole outer surface, representing Ramses seated on his throne, in the midst of his camp, and receiving military chiefs and Asiatic strangers, some allies, but all foreigners are captives, bound with cords. The chariots

* Above, p. 347, *seq.*

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and armies of Egypt are drawn up in line on the back-ground. This is evidently the day after a victory.

On the propylon to the left is the battle, which, like those already described, is a mere flight of Asiatics before RAMSES and the army of Egypt. The crossing of a river and the capture of a fort are also represented.

The accompanying hieroglyphics inform us that this action took place in the fifth year of the reign of RAMSES, and on the ninth of the month Ephep.

THE MEMNONIUM, OR RAMESSÆUM OF WESTERN THEBES.

This is the palace-temple, the remains of which were named by the French savans, who accompanied the Expedition to Egypt in 1798, the Memnonium, which we retain. It was, however, begun and completed by SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, and named after him, the Ramessæum.

It is situated on the plain at the foot of the catacombs of Gournou, just beyond the limit of the inundation. The vast tract included in the square enclosure that surrounded it, was once entirely covered with constructions in granite and bricks of Nile-mud, stuccoed, all of which seem to have been halls for public purposes. The ruin itself is very extensive, but it bears the marks of having been at some time fortified and carried by storm; so that at certain points it is greatly dismembered. It was in this temple that RAMSES completed the amalgamation of Month, or

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Mars, the god of Western Thebes, with Amun, the local divinity of Thebes on the other bank, and the tutelary of his own family.

The temple itself consists of a suite of five magnificent hypostyle halls or courts, arranged in a right line, and opening the one into the other; so that a central aisle or colonnade passed through the entire building. The last of these halls was a library, and the approach to it was through a gilded doorway, according to the inscription that still remains upon it. The entrance to the Ramesseum was also of wonderful magnificence, as its ruins testify; but the obelisks, the colossi at the entrance, and the outer faces of the two propyla, which are far larger than those of Luxor, have disappeared before the military operations already mentioned.

In the entrance hall, on the other side of the propyla, are the remains of four sitting colossi, all monolith of black granite, and representing RAMSES, the constructer of the temple. The most perfect of them is the largest monolith colossus in granite in the world. The sitting figure is 33 feet high. Like its companions, however, it has been destroyed of purpose.

On the inner faces of the propyla are sculptured in relief the military exploits of RAMSES-SESOSTRIS. On that to the right is the picture repeated of the chief incident of the campaign, on the ninth of the tenth month (Ephep), in his fifth year. The other, which is much mutilated, is part of the same subject. It is therefore another account of the same event as that recorded at Luxor.

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The Great Speos of Amun, at Abou-Simbel, or Ipsambul.

This wonderful excavation consists of a hall of vast dimensions, quarried in the bowels of a mountain, and extending inwards for more than 200 feet from the doorway. The approach is an hypæthral cutting in the side of the mountain, of about the same extent. Four colossi, each sixty feet high, and sculptured in bold relief on the sides of the cutting, guard the entrance to this most magnificent of vaults. They all represent Sesostris-Ramses, and are remarkable for the extreme beauty of their execution. They are coloured, and the tints still remain but little impaired. The temple is dedicated to Amun-Re, and to Re or Phre (*i.e.*, "the sun"), with an especial reference to the initial title in the first ring of the name, Sesostris, so that the god is invariably represented invested with the two attributes that constitute this title. This worship of the names of the kings of Egypt is by no means uncommon on the monuments of the Diospolitan Pharaohs. The eight or ten small cabinets which open out of the great hall are covered with mythic reliefs, representing acts of adoration paid by Ramses to the principal gods of Egypt. This is also the case with the eight pillars that support the great hall. But the whole of its walls are covered with the pictorial details of the campaign of Ramses against the Asiatics, in the fifth year of his reign.

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Thus we have, on three of the temples of Egypt, three several versions of the picture-history of the same campaign. This circumstance alone shows it to have been a great event in the reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES; but we have evidence of its importance even still more direct and unequivocal. The speos of Abou-Simbel was begun long after its occurrence, and not completed until the 38th of this monarch. We certainly infer from hence, that no other war of equal magnitude had occurred in the course of his reign, or it would have been selected for the subject of these reliefs. Up to this year, therefore, it had been by far the most notable feat of arms of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. We have also ascertained from the classical historians that the great expedition of this hero was undertaken on his first accession; so that we can have no stronger evidence that the action before us is that which was celebrated in the tradition they have perpetuated.

We will endeavour to combine these three transcriptions, so as, if possible, to give its history continuously.

The fifth year of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES was probably that of his father's death, and consequently of his own accession to the undivided throne of Egypt. We have already noticed the existence of a date of the fourth year of his co-regency. This abatement, at least from the duration of his reign, is imperatively required by the probabilities of chronology. It was the ambition of SESOSTRIS to imitate the example of all his great ancestors, by signalizing the first year of his reign over Egypt by some great exploit of war.

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The materials for the history of the campaign are, as we have said, very ample. The pictures of its events cover a vast surface of wall, and are described in hundreds of columns of hieroglyphics. Such, however, is the want of perspicuity in all the modes of recording thought in use among the Ancient Egyptians, that this multiplicity of texts serves only to increase the difficulties of arriving at a clear understanding of their import.

The paintings of Abou-Simbel alone, of all the three repetitions, relate the beginning of the campaign. If it ever existed at Luxor and Gournou, it is either covered with modern buildings or destroyed.

The preface is as usual—a group of many kneeling captives, white, black, and the chocolate colour of Nubia and the desert. The conqueror grasps the hair of the group with his left hand, in which also he holds his bow. In his right, he brandishes the bill or battle-axe, in act to strike. Amun-Re holds forth to him a faulchion, and says:

Take thy faulchion,
Smite therewith mightily.
We grant thee to tranquillize the south,
To conquer the north,
To scatter the barbarous chiefs of the whole world,
To raise thy palace,
To extend the bounds of Egypt
Unto the pillars of heaven in both hemispheres.*

The relief which this inscription illustrates is in the north-east corner of the great hall.

* Rosellini, M. R. lxxix.

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Immediately adjoining is a fort, the defenders of which are all transfixed by the arrows of RAMSES, who, like his father, takes it alone. He is rushing upon them in his chariot at full gallop, shooting arrows at them as he advances. The inscription is as usual:

The good god, the son of Amun,
Goes forth to conquer.
His presence sustains his archers;
His vigilance on both borders forestals the fight;
His word is sure,
His hand is firm on his chariot, like Mars.
The lord conquering multitudes,
The bull goring myriads.
He makes to tremble all the rebels of the Jebusites;
He casts down their high mountains;
He casts them into their valleys,
Like grasshoppers' eggs.
Smite them, O victorious lord of the faulchion,
Let their habitations be desolate for ever!

The first action of the war, therefore, was the successful attack upon a fortified town in the possession of the Jebusites. This must have been one of the cities in the Delta, because the march over the frontier is represented afterwards.

The next action in the campaign is the defeat of an army, headed by two chiefs of the Hittites.* This is figuratively represented, by SESOSTRIS slaying the two commanders. About the same time some success was achieved against the blacks on the southern frontier. The inscription is as follows:

* Rosellini, M. R. lxxxii.

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The good god
Leading captive the Phutim ;*
Putting to flight the nations of the North ;
Their mountains are overthrown at his presence.
His sword subdues like [the sword of] Mars ;
He is gone forth to the land of the Nahasi (Negroes),
And to the northern land of those that are trodden down,†
Even to the land of Nubia,
Even to the land of the Zuzim, which had [before] been conquered,
Also to the land of the S..... [*mutilated*] (doubtless some southern tribe).
When he had contended with the Hittites (land of Heth),
In the plains of the North ;
He built constructions with the captives of his victories.
He prevails over you,
O ye cutters up of Tyre ;
O ye dividers of Arvad,
He casts you down,
He hews you in pieces.

The motive of the war now becomes intelligible. Another aggression upon Tyre and Arvad, that is upon the Xoite kingdom, the ancient allies of his father, called the young king to the north-eastern frontier. Another proof of the increasing weakness of the now crumbling remains of the line and throne of Aphophis. Once more, as on so many former occasions, Heth is the aggressor. Nubia was also threatened by two Negro tribes, who were immediately subdued, and many

* Two strings of Negro captives, represented in the following picture.

† *hmu*, "tread under foot" (Copt. ϩⲙⲟⲩ, the same). The picture represents the conqueror trampling upon his northern enemies.

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captives taken by the armies of Egypt. This invasion was effectually repelled by the single action hinted at in this place. We hear no more of it. The affair was either one of little real importance, or it was made so in these records, because the king was not personally present at it.

After the two files of African prisoners, the war on the northern frontier is resumed. Having defeated the Hittites, SESOSTRIS hastens across the desert in pursuit of the enemy. He is represented driving his chariot furiously. His tame lion runs by the side of it. In the explanatory text it is said:

The great god RAMSES follows after you,
The king goes into their countries;
He passes through many lands.
He has made a treaty with Arvad [Lower Egypt].
He has taken their chiefs for hostages,
He has granted the requests of the chiefs of Hasi.*
He goes on his way like fire,
When it rusheth forth where there is no water.
His arm obtains the sovereignty.
Having put to shame † the persons of the chiefs of the Jebusites,
Having butted at their hind-quarters,
He spares them.‡

Here we find that before RAMSES crossed the borders of Egypt, he made treaties with his allies, both to the north and the south. His northern allies were Upper Arvad, *i.e.*, the Xoite king, and Lower Arvad, of which Tyre and Sidon were both cities. The foreign

* The Negroes, elsewhere written *Nahasi*.

† *St-nu* (Copt. CATHOOT) *mingere*. ‡ M. R. pl. lxxxiv.

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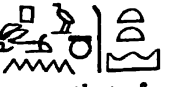
allies of Egypt represented at Abou-Simbel are accordingly Sidonians in arms and costume. They are, however, Egyptians in complexion, like the prisoners of THOTHMOSIS.* There can be no doubt that they are the soldiers of the Xoite king, and that therefore the present war had the same motive as that of the preceding reign. The Xoite kingdom, too weak at this time to defend its eastern frontier, demanded the aid of Upper Egypt. This Pharaoh and his subjects are, as usual, everywhere nicknamed Arvad, in the arrogant texts that accompany the pictures, and spoken of as foreign enemies. Nothing short of years of study of these texts suffices to distinguish in them the ally of Egypt from the enemy.

The next event of the war is recorded at the Rameseum of Western Thebes. It is the siege of a fort, the name of which is inscribed upon it. We long ago explained that this  name was, soon after the epoch before us, that of a mining station in the desert of Sinai, at the foot of Mount Hor. It was the Punon of the Hebrew Bible,† the Phenne of the Greek Itineraries. We have hitherto left this assumed identification undisturbed. It now becomes needful closely to examine the grounds of it.

The locality before us certainly may be Punon at the foot of Mount Hor. There is nothing to render this impossible; but we long ago expressed our surprise, that objects so weighty as granite obelisks should be brought from such a distance to Egypt‡ in the

* Above p. 296; see Rosellini, M. R. pl. c. † Numb. xxxiii. 42.
‡ See above, p. 293.

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days of THOTHMOSIS. We have likewise found the capture of this place, one of the first exploits of the campaign of SETHOS, immediately on his crossing the borders of Egypt.* This, again, seems to bring it nearer to the Egyptian boundary.

If we now consider the name itself, we find that it is significant. It means "a border town," "a stronghold on the border."† Such a meaning certainly leads us to look for some locality much nearer to the border of Egypt Proper, than Mount Hor or the Wady-el-Arabah, which is separated from it by the entire Peninsula of Sinai, so that both from the meaning of the name itself, and from all the hints we are able to gather from the inscriptions, it seems probable that the place intended by it, is nearer to Egypt than Punon by Mount Hor.

It will be remembered that the name *Migdol*, which is also significant, has in these texts an extended application to any fortress by the sea.‡ The word *pen-ne* is also capable of the same vague and general use. It is applied to towns on either border of Egypt. There was a *Phenne* in the south, besides this Phenne in the north. We have for these reasons been induced to believe, that by the Phenne of these texts, we are to understand, not Punon by Mount Hor, but the mining district§ at the head of the Gulf of Suez, which had been the possession of Egypt from the foundation of the monarchy. The history now before

* p. 398 &c. † Alphabet No. 103. See also above, p. 266.

‡ pp. 236, 411.

§ That Phenne was a mining district, see above, p. 292, *seq*.

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us, we shall find to be just as imperative in its requirements that Phenne shall not be very far from the border of Egypt, as those we have already considered.

We need scarcely repeat, that the modern name of this district is the Wady Meghara. We have also explained that its name in Ancient Egypt, was "the mountains of Monthra,"* by which, of course, it would not be called in these texts, when it was in the hands of a foreign enemy.

In the picture of the siege of this stronghold, at the Ramessæum, six of the *Heteri* of the king assault the fortress, which is held by foreigners, with the costume and arms of the Jebusites, while SESOSTRIS receives an embassy from Sheth. There is a long inscription in hieroglyphics over the picture. We have elsewhere given a translation of it;† there is no reason for repeating here that which contains so little that is either pleasing or instructive. This strange composition merely once casually alludes to the siege, the subject it might naturally be supposed to illustrate. It relates altogether to the embassy from Sheth. Nothing can be more humble than the demeanour of the ambassadors. The picture of them recals forcibly to mind the Gibeonites in the camp of Joshua.‡ Neither would it be possible for terms more abject to be used than those which the inscription puts into their mouths. The reply of Pharaoh is in a tone of corresponding arrogance. Yet the sequel shows that the

* Vol. i. p. 255, &c. † Egypt, her Testimony, pp. 84, 85.

‡ Josh. iv.

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war between Egypt and Sheth still proceeded, and therefore that the terms offered by the ambassadors were such as SESOSTRIS could not accept. Our readers are now so well aware of the mode in which history lies hid beneath these inscriptions, and of the difficulty of uncovering it, that there will be no need to trouble them with any further remark upon it.

The next and only event of the war of the fifth of SESOSTRIS, according to all the three repetitions of its picture history, is the sanguinary defeat of Sheth before another stronghold, inscribed with the name of *Hadasha* or *Kadesh*, which is already familiar to us.* There is, however, at the Ramessæum and at Abou-Simbel, a long inscription over the picture of Pharaoh on his throne receiving an embassy, by the aid of which we may possibly be enabled to connect this last event with the siege of Phenne.

[This battle was fought on] the 9th of Epep [the 11th month], in the 5th year of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES.

The inscription is a part of the picture of the battle, it therefore commences with the date of that event. It then goes backward and recapitulates the history of the campaign:

Behold the king was in the land of Heth at the beginning.

We have just seen that the defeat of the Hittites was one of the first actions of the war.

Then [afterwards] the army encamped in the district to the southward of the province of Kadesh.

* Above, p. 400, &c.

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For the king arose and received the ensigns of his father Monthra.*

Then the king marched [over the desert, *lit.*, "sailed"]. †

Then the king attacked the southern fortress of the *Jebusites*.‡

We need scarcely repeat our explanation of this history. After defeating the Hittites, SESOSTRIS crossed the desert, and laid siege to Phenne, which at this time was held by the Jebusites.

Then two princes of the Zuzim came to speak to the king
Concerning the aggressions of the great ones of the race of *Moab*.§

This, it will be perceived is another embassy received by SESOSTRIS during the siege of Phenne. The former one came from Sheth with proposals for peace, which

* *i.e.*, Mars. There may be here an allusion to Phenne, the name of which in Egypt was "the mountains of Monthra."

† Vol. i. p. 114.

‡ *shubzu*. There can be no doubt that the foreigners designated by this and many other groups having the same sound, but written with other homophons, are of the same nation as those which appear on the tomb of Nahrai (*above*, pp. 31, 86). We have shown this elsewhere. Our reasonings have not been answered, though the fact is denied.

§ The second character of this group "the cord" (*Alphabet*, No. 7), has been written "the ground plot" (*Alphabet*, No. 48), in both transcriptions *Rosellini*, M. R. cii. *Lepsius* iii. 153. From hence the whole has been read *mahout*. This error we believe to have been in the original copy. It is easily rectified by the collation of this with other texts relating to Sheth. We believe that the ground plot is never followed by the quail (No. 3), which in this case interprets the cord (No. 7); so that the right rendering is *m a b t*, perhaps the מואבית of the Bible. See *Alphabet*.

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were rejected. The present one is from the allies of SESOSTRIS, complaining of the aggressions of Sheth, which had followed upon that rejection. The ambassadors are represented in both copies undergoing examination, by scourging, before they were admitted into the presence of Pharaoh. They are named in the accompanying explanation, "the two tribute-bearers (ambassadors), concerning Sheth." In the coloured relief at Abou-Simbel, they are two youths with the complexion of Egypt, but with the light hair and eyes of the inhabitants of the Delta.

We have frequently before met with the people who sent this embassy, in the course of this our inquiry. *shasu.* We have identified them with the Zuzim that dwelt in Ham, the first of the tribes of Canaan, who emigrated into the Delta, and formed settlements there. In the days of SETHOS, they were at war with Egypt; and, according to the picture-history, sustained a defeat from his army, and purchased peace by the concession to Egypt of three strongholds, all situated in the Desert of Suez.* We shall find that they are now at peace with Egypt, and that the object of their embassy is to ask for aid against another enemy. It must be borne in mind, that this embassy was certainly sent to the Xoite, as well as to the Theban, Pharaoh. The princes and soldiers of both kings are represented in the accompanying picture, though the name of the Xoite monarch is only once mentioned in the arrogant phrases of the inscription, under the nickname of Arvad.

* Above, pp. 397, 408.

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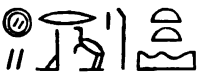
The message of the Zuzite ambassadors, probably delivered while undergoing examination by scourging, was as follows:

We come in haste from fighting with Sheth, in the northern land,
Even with Sheth, that dwelleth in the two Rabbahs.

The group we translate "the two Rabbahs," is often  used in the course of this inscription, of which we have two ancient copies, as well as in other texts that relate to Sheth. Rabbah was the name of a chief city among all the Canaanite tribes. It is repeatedly applied in the Bible to the capitals of Moab and Ammon.* Nothing is therefore more likely than that this confederation would be known in Egypt as the land of the two Rabbahs. For these reasons, we still adhere to the interpretation of the group which we first proposed many years ago.†

They have pitched their camp,
They invade, they overrun.
Behold the Zuzite ambassadors come to tell this to the king:
They enter into our land,
They lay waste the regions in which the eye of the king is not;
There they fear not to fight.
Let, then, the king's armies contend with them,
Even with the evil race of Sheth;
For, behold, Sheth comes with all the chiefs of their land,

* See Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xiii. 25, &c.

† To the objection, that this reading violates a rule of the hieroglyphic grammar, according to which the numeral ought to follow the noun it qualifies, we can only reply, that we are not aware of the existence of such a rule; and also, that it would be impossible to write the phrase in hieroglyphics otherwise than as it appears in the group before us.

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Their horsemen and their footmen;
They come to defy the armies of the king.
They spread terror and dismay through the land of Kadesh;
Therefore, behold, the chief of that land [Kadesh]
Supplicates the king
With pure gold, which he sends as his personal tribute;
Yea, he saith vehemently:
"Both the kings of Sheth are in battle array,
Bonds are before them;
Yea, Sheth has invaded us."

Such appears to have been the tenor of the information extracted by the scourge from these luckless envoys. We trust that our translation will have so cleared the sense, as to render explanation all but needless. Immediately on the rejection by Pharaoh of the terms proposed by the Shethite ambassadors, that warlike confederacy suddenly invaded the territory of the ally of Lower Egypt (the Zuzim), and laid siege to the city of Kadesh. Altogether unable to resist the invaders, either by his own force or by that of his kindred in Canaan, the Zuzite monarch demands the aid of the Pharaohs of both Egypts, who were then actually engaged in chastising an aggression by the Jebusites upon their own territory at Phenne or the Wady Meghara.

We long ago called attention to the circumstance, that this hieroglyphic history places the Zuzim in antagonism with Moab and Ammon, and that the nearly contemporaneous history of the Bible has preserved the record of the same war, which terminated in the utter destruction of the Zuzim.* We gather from

* See Deut. ii. 19—21.

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hence the remarkable though probable conclusion, that the conquerors of the parent-stock of Zuz, in the mountains of Sheth, or Siddim, in Canaan, laid claim to their possessions in Ham, or Egypt, also. In prosecution of their claim, they were now invading the territory of the Xoite Pharaoh. We ask for this coincidence, only the amount of consideration which would be at once conceded to it, had it been recorded by Herodotus, or Diodorus, or Manetho, instead of by Moses.

We are almost ashamed to say, that we have reached the furthest limit of the exact history related in the lengthy document before us. It is only by deduction that the facts implied in the rest of it can be arrived at.

The result of the examination of the two envoys is explained to Pharaoh, who, in reply, dispatches them to the camp of the enemy with a message, which, under pain of his heaviest displeasure, he charges them to deliver word for word:

Look out, O ye smitten Shethites!
Make ye ready in all your lands,
Yea, in all the possessions that ye have.
The king cometh with his armies,
To fight against all the lands that are within the boundaries of Sheth;
Both in the district of Naharain (*i.e.*, Canaan),
And in the district of Heth (*i.e.*, Lower Egypt);
Therefore let them prepare their footmen and their horsemen, even all that they have.
Call ye a religious assembly, offer meat-offerings and drink-offerings [for success in the war],
O ye who have filled the land of Kadesh with dismay!

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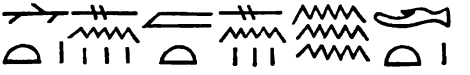
This magniloquent threat was certainly never fulfilled.

Still more deeply to dismay Sheth, Pharaoh sets before them the utter discomfiture of the Jebusites, which he has just accomplished at Phenne, and their most abject submission. He then concludes his message thus:

Firm is the land of Sheth, in the district of the two Rabbahs,
But the king shall entirely overrun it,
When he shall give the word to arise and march against it.
According to this (*i.e.*, Phenne) explain to them, O ye Zuzites!
Yea, according to this will I do in the hour that I make war upon thee, O Sheth!
Ye say, land cometh together with land, with men, and with horses, like lizards for multitude,
To put fear into the city of Kadesh.
Behold this shall be unto you for a sin, O ye chiefs of the land, which shall never be expiated;
As the chiefs of this land (Phenne) have expiated their sin,
Who have brought *for their tribute timber* [and laid it down] *on the bank of the river.* 

The picture below explains the import of these phrases. Pharaoh broke up his camp at Phenne, and arrived at Kadesh in time to raise the siege, and to overthrow Sheth, the besieger, in a pitched battle. The Zuzite embassy had arrived just at the time when SESOSTRIS had brought his war with the Jebusites to a termination, either by conquest or treaty.

The locality of Kadesh is the question which it is now incumbent upon us carefully to consider. We

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have elsewhere * expressed our conviction that it is the place named Kadesh-Barnea and En-Mishpat in the Bible. The collation of the two prefaces to the war of SETHOS, on the north wall of Karnak, seems to make this pretty certain. The name Barnea, on the right jamb,† is written Kadesh in the corresponding dungeon on the left jamb.

Kadesh-Barnea was the principal city to the eastward of Egypt. It was at first situated without the bounds of Egypt Proper, which, as we have explained, terminated in these ancient times with the Phathmetic branch and its eastern tributaries.‡ Yet was it closely adjacent to Egypt, and the city itself was probably actually annexed to it by the Pharaoh whose history is now before us. It was at the Exodus the name of the whole desert of Suez. The children of Israel went thither in the second year of their wandering, for the purpose of attacking Canaan;§ from which they were deterred by the evil report of the spies.|| This name it retained long afterwards.¶

Our readers are aware that the channels and rivulets from the Nile, which flow from the Phathmetic branch over the bounds of Egypt, were collected together, and formed that which was afterwards called the Pelusiac branch.** These are comprehended in these texts under the general name of "the waters of Naharain." Their present debouchure is about twenty miles from

* Above, p. 401. † Maut 14, above, p. 397.
‡ Above, p. 413. § Numb. xiii. 24; Deut. i. 46; ii. 14.
|| Numb. xxxii. 8; Deut. ix. 23, &c.
¶ Ps. xxix. 8. ** Above, p. 285.

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Tanis, then the eastern border of Egypt, and about one-third the distance between that city and the river of Egypt, which is the western boundary of Canaan. It would be quite certain that the chief city or fortress of this dry and thirsty land would be situated on the most favourable spot that could be selected for water. Accordingly, we find in all the pictures of the present war that the city of Kadesh stood on the banks of a river. In the war of SETHOS, it is represented standing on a wooded hill. In the present pictures, this hill is shown to be a mound upon which it was built, like other cities of Lower Egypt. These circumstances seem to indicate that the *Chatash* of the pictures before us, the Kadesh-Barnea of the Bible, must have been the city afterwards called Pelusium by the Greeks, which was not exactly on the sea-coast, though near it, and which also lay more than forty miles to the eastward of the maritime boundary of Egypt at Damietta.*

* Dr. Lepsius is most unsuccessful in an attempt to identify Pelusium with *Avaris* (*Einleitung*, pp. 337—344). He founds his argument upon a denial that *Pelusium* is from πηλος, "clay;" forgetting that both its Egyptian name ϕαρουι, its later Hebrew name סין (Ezek. xxx. 15), and its modern Arabic name *Tineh*, have all the same signification. We have elsewhere endeavoured to show that the city named Avaris was the Leontopolis of the Greeks, the Pharbethus of the Itineraries, and the Phelbes of the Copts and Arabs (*above*, p. 415). The Doctor supports his loose guess with some vague quotations from Chæremon and other Alexandrian writers. He again overlooks a fact. In the many misfortunes that Egypt had undergone, many changes of the names of cities took place, and their ancient names were often lost; so that very little precise knowledge upon these points remained in the days of Josephus and his cotemporaries.

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The name of this city in all languages, from the days of the Greeks until now, has been derived from the vast tracts of marsh which surround it, and which at this day render its ruins all but inaccessible. This circumstance is another strong coincidence with the Chatash of the pictures before us. SESOSTRIS is represented driving the Shethites into a marsh, where numbers of them perish, and whence many of his own people who had followed them in the ardour of pursuit were with difficulty extricated by their comrades; so that the proof of the identity of Kadesh-Barnea with the Chatash of these pictures, and of this last with Pelusium in the desert of Suez, is, we submit, a sufficient one.

The fulfilment of the pompous threat of SESOSTRIS is the grand centre-piece of all the three pictures of the war that are now before us. The city is represented as surrounded on three sides by the waters of a narrow stream, which expand into a marsh on the opposite shore. The besiegers had pitched their camp on the land side. This is attacked by the Egyptian army. The infantry in solid square form the centre. The Upper Egyptian soldiers carry the high cylindrical shield, with the *pavise* or eye-hole at the top, and are armed with the long lance. They have the body defended with quilted linen, but the head is bare. The troops of Lower Egypt have circular shields, with golden or brazen bosses, and are armed with two-edged swords of copper or bronze. Their body-clothes are the same as the Upper Egyptians; but they have on their heads low helmets of silver, or some other white

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metal, surmounted with the horns and disc, after the exact fashion of those represented on Phenician coins. The chariots advance on both flanks, and complete the battle array. These chariots are drawn by a pair of horses, and carry three warriors, one armed with the lance, another with the bow, the third being the charioteer. Such seems to have been the universal practice throughout the ancient world.

The besieged Zuzites in Kadesh merely man the chain of small forts, which is represented as surrounding their city. They make no sally, nor take any part in the engagement. This is evidently for the purpose of giving the entire glory of the victory to the armies of Egypt.

The force of Sheth, as far as it appears in the field, consisted entirely of war-chariots. We have already noticed the same peculiarity in the armament of this people in another representation of them,* and pointed out its exact coincidence with the battle array of Moab and Ammon in the scripture history. The proof of this coincidence is still more pregnant in the instance now before us.

The costume, arms, accoutrements, and personal appearance of the Shethites have been so amply described elsewhere, that we could merely repeat here the description of them which we have given there.† This we are unwilling to do. Our subject is already copious enough, without the addition of any matter not strictly belonging to it. We therefore refer to our former work for these descriptions generally.

* At Karnak, above p. 403, *seq.*

† Egypt, her Testimony, pp. 130—137.

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The defeat of Sheth is just as signal in this vast battle-piece, as in all other reliefs which commemorate the wars of Egypt with her foreign enemies. The conflict is depicted with wonderful spirit in all the three copies of it. The infantry advance in phalanx upon the chariots of Sheth. These merely face them long enough for the charioteers to receive mortal wounds. They are then driven pell-mell into the marsh. The Egyptian chariots on the flanks dash in among them, and commit a terrible slaughter. Even the horses in the Shethite chariots are all writhing with flesh wounds from the arrows of the Egyptian archers, which are sticking in them. The wounds inflicted both on men and horses, and their dying agonies, are portrayed in endless variety, and with a spirit and force which are truly Homeric. The enemy having been driven into the marsh by the footmen, the victory was completed by the charioteers, who followed them and cut them to pieces. The foot-soldiers seem thenceforward to have had no other occupation than that of rescuing the Egyptian charioteers from the mud, into which they are floundering in their attempt to return after the defeat.

Art in Egypt was altogether impatient of the trammels, not of truth merely, but of probability. The conquests of Pharaoh must be achieved by the mere terror of the arms of Egypt, and by his own personal prowess. The fierce contention, the doubtful issue, the heroism of both parties, which give to the Homeric fictions their truth and thrilling interest, were altogether unknown to Egyptian art. It had no human

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sympathy with foreign enemies. They were noxious reptiles, whose portraiture could give no pleasure, unless they were writhing with pain, or undergoing destruction; whose names were never mentioned in her songs unassociated with the bitterest aspersions, and the vilest and most degrading epithets. Of this peculiarity, our pages contain very ample illustrations; and this it is which goes so far to deprive art in Egypt of all that can create either pleasure or interest.

The size of these pictures altogether prevents their compression within the dimensions of our page. Separate groups from them have often been published; but the subjects are in themselves unpleasing, and the effect of the originals is entirely lost in these reductions, however correct. We do not, therefore, give them here.

This defeat of Sheth before Pelusium was the grand action of the great war with which SESOSTRIS signalized his accession to the undivided throne of Egypt on the death of his father. Such was its importance, that the very names of the Shethite chiefs who fell in the battle, and the places where they perished (some on dry land, but the greater part in the marsh) are commemorated in the three picture-histories of it. This war so far surpassed in magnitude and results all the other wars of his reign, that the vast cavern-temple of Abou-Simbel was hewn to perpetuate the memory of it, more than thirty years after its occurrence. Yet assuredly it consisted of nothing more than the expulsion of the Jebusites from a city of Lower Egypt and from the frontier mining district of Phenne, a battle with the

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Hittites, and the defeat of Sheth before Pelusium. For the remainder or second part of the poem, engraved by the throne of Pharaoh, contains nothing but the submission of Sheth to SESOSTRIS, and his petition for peace, which is granted to him. Neither prisoners nor spoil of any importance were the fruits of this campaign. These additional glories would certainly not have been overlooked had they existed; but there is no hint at either in any of the three pictures of the war.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion to which these facts so unerringly point. The war of which we have this succession of colossal records, was a very inconsiderable affair, both in its prosecution and its results, when compared with the exploits against Lower Egypt either of THOTHMOSIS or of SETHOS. It does not seem possible that it can have been a campaign of more than a few weeks. The incursion of the Jebusites was evidently merely a predatory one. They had seized upon a fortress on the western border of the desert, and upon the copper mines. The latter had been in the possession of SETHOS in his twenty-second year.* Taking advantage of the weakness of the Xoite king, the division among his subjects, and doubtless, also, of the security and negligence of the Theban government after a long peace, they had probably made a sudden incursion, and surprised both positions. Their dislodgment from both was a matter of easy accomplishment, and shedding but a dim ray of glory upon the conqueror. This the pictures make perfectly evident.

* Above, p. 425.

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Even the defeat of Sheth, however complete, neither checked the career of conquest of that powerful confederacy, nor led to any other important result. The subsequent wars of SESOSTRIS make this very evident.

The records of these wars on the monuments require to be noticed, though it is needful to keep in mind that, however inflated the descriptions, the wars themselves must, in the nature of things, have been very inferior in importance to the one we have related.

In the ninth year of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, in the month Paoni (the tenth month) he was again at war on the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, and the enemy was once more Sheth. We can have no stronger proof than this of the inconsiderable character and unimportant results of the defeat before Pelusium. The power of Sheth was neither broken nor even diminished by this check. Far from it; he is again in the field, and again invading Egypt for the purpose of possessing himself of the strongholds of the Zuzim there. This unfortunate race was once more allied with Egypt.

There were once two records of this war in existence. One of them is a papyrus formerly in the possession of M. Sallier, of Aix in Provence, but purchased from him by the British Museum about ten years ago. This interesting document has been found in the same tomb, and was written by the same scribes, and belonged to the same library, as the one to which we have elsewhere referred.* It is said to be a poem describing a battle of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES with Sheth, in the month

* Above, p. 91, note.

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Paoni (the tenth month) of the ninth year of his reign. SESOSTRIS of course won the victory, and the Shethites afterwards humbly sued for peace, and obtained it. This manuscript has been published by the Museum, but the author of the present work has not had the opportunity of examining it, which has been afforded to most other students of this uninviting subject. He is therefore only in condition to say, in regard of it, that which appears in the letter of Champollion, who saw it while in the possession of M. Sallier,* and in a few extracts from the same document in a paper read by Mr. Birch before the Royal Society of Literature.† From hence, it certainly follows that this invasion was partially successful. Pelusium (Kadesh-Barnea), Heliopolis, and Hermopolis, in the Delta, were once more in the hands of Sheth, and, according to this poem, were again rescued by SESOSTRIS.

The vast force of Sheth in chariots is here again commemorated. He is said to have taken the field on this occasion with 4500 chariots.

On the north external wall of the vast hypostyle hall of Karnak, is another record of the war with Sheth in the ninth of SESOSTRIS. The preface alone is now legible. It does not appear that any continuation of it ever existed. This was the custom with inconsiderable actions of war. The preface only commemorated them. Amun brings 12 prisoners, and Horus in the eastern desert 24 prisoners, to SESOSTRIS, who is braining his group of captives as usual. The names inscribed

* L' Univers, Egypte, p. 333, &c.

† Transactions (new series), vol. ii. 330, *seq.*

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in the dungeons led by the gods, are deeply disguised by variations in the homophons; probably enough, because of their near vicinity to the great battle-piece of SETHOS, where the same names are often repeated. Many of them are traceable notwithstanding, and all of these are localities in the eastern Delta, and in the desert adjacent.* Among them appears the two Rabbahs, which points to the identification of the device with the present war. It was dated the ninth year of SESOSTRIS, which completes the identity.†

There is yet another war of SESOSTRIS, commemorated on the opposite external wall of Karnak. The enemy on this occasion was Lower Arvad or Hermon, whom we have found united with Sheth in the former war. Lower Egypt was again confederate with SESOSTRIS in this war, while the Jebusites combined with the Tyrian settlers. The cause of the war was probably a rebellion of these last. Its single action was the reduc-

* Tanis is thus disguised: "the district of Tanis in Avaris."

Leontopolis stands thus: "the district of Avaris."

Another desert station is named "the thirsty land."

Heliopolis appears under the strange disguise of "the sun fountain;" עין־שמש.

Lower Arvad or Hermon is also concealed in this form: "the lands and waters [the settlement] of Hermon," "the camp of the Tyrians" (*above*, p. 222). Lepsius iii. 144.

† Rosellini: *Monumenti Istorici*. This date has now perished.

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tion of a city, doubtless a Tyrian settlement in the Delta, by the combined armies of Upper and Lower Egypt. Of the extremely decrepid and tottering condition of the Xoite kingdom, we can have no stronger proof than is furnished by the picture-record of this war. Inconsiderable as was the whole affair, it, nevertheless, appears from the preface that Tanis, Manasseh, and two other cities, had been seized upon by the insurgents, and were restored to the Xoite king only by the aid of SESOSTRIS.

The date of this war has, unhappily, perished from the wall at Karnak. We have, therefore, no other course than to endeavour, from other monuments, to discover it.

Our readers are aware that there are three tablets of SESOSTRIS on the rocks that overhang the Lycus, which was the northern boundary of the possessions in Canaan of Lower Arvad or Tyre. The hieroglyphic history of the wars of this hero (which we have now concluded), nevertheless makes it very apparent that he never left the bounds of Egypt further than Pelusium and the Wady Meghara. Strange as this may appear, it is, nevertheless, incontrovertibly true. The war of his fifth year was assuredly the great war of his reign, for it is commemorated in the central and largest tablet on the Lycus, as well as in the three vast pictures we have considered. Yet, if its hieroglyphic record has not done the hero irreparable injustice, he never left the bounds of Egypt further than the edge of the desert, to achieve its glories. The two tablets

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on each side of this principal one were executed in the tenth year of SESOSTRIS; and these, we doubt not, commemorate the war with Lower Arvad, whose picture history at Karnak we have just considered. It was, in all probability, one stipulation in the treaty of peace, that Egyptian artists should be permitted to execute these tablets. The Tyrians would willingly barter an empty and mendacious boast, to the disadvantage of their northern neighbours, the Syrians, and even afford a free passage in their ships to the artists who executed them, for the solid commercial advantages which were doubtless secured to them in exchange. We know of no other mode of accounting for this very singular monumental fact.

The circumstance that SESOSTRIS never was out of Egypt, although tablets of him still exist in Canaan, seems utterly to destroy the assumption that his far less renowned predecessor, SETHOS, of whose victories no tablet ever existed there, surpassed him in so brilliant an achievement. The Canaanite expedition of SETHOS, therefore,* must be added to the long list of fables and kompologies which we have detected in the course of our present investigation. It was a mere border war for the defence of the eastern frontier of the Xoite Pharaoh against the aggressions of the bold rangers of the Desert of Suez. The whole detail of its history, which we have considered, renders this highly probable. Its chief result, the rescue of the forests of Hermon from the Zuzites, was a point just as likely

* Above, pp. 387—415.

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to be accomplished by treaty as by invasion and conquest. In the same manner, we must assume that the capture of Kanah, and the rest of the actions of war in Canaan, must have been achieved by Lower Arvad or Tyre, the ally of Egypt, and that the embassy from this power really had their interview with SETHOS in Egypt. The small amount of geographical coincidence we have detected in the reliefs of this war, may have been the work of Tyrian artists, sent to Thebes for the purpose, as afterwards Egyptian artists were sent to Tyre to engrave the rocks on the Lycus. In any case, all the knowledge we have acquired from the monuments, of the customs and modes of thought that prevailed in Ancient Egypt, renders it simply impossible that SETHOS should have successfully invaded Canaan without leaving the abundant records of his victories engraven on the rocks of the conquered countries. No such are in existence, or have been known to exist at any period. These considerations are, we submit, fatal to the hypothesis that SETHOS ever was in Canaan.

We have now completed our history of the wars of SESOSTRIS, according to his own monumental record of them. We find it to agree with the Greek tradition in a single point only. They terminated in the ninth or tenth year of his reign. In no other particular do they bear the remotest relation to the fables regarding *Sesostris*, *Sesoosis* and *Rhamses*, related by the Egyptian priests to the Greeks and Romans. Our examination of these romances will have fully prepared our readers for this result.

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It will now be needful for us to return to our Greek authorities, in order to collect from them their history of SESOSTRIS at peace, and as king of Egypt. We shall find here, as on so many former occasions, that, notwithstanding the colossal falsehood we have just detected in it, the tradition regarding SESOSTRIS is by no means to be rejected on this account as a fiction from end to end. Like all other wilful deceivers, the Egyptian priests always erected their creations upon a basis of truth. On this occasion also, as on several former ones, we can in some measure comprehend the motive of their fabling. It was plainly, in the first instance, to make their hero greater than the several heroes of their days. They had, besides this, another end in view. SESOSTRIS certainly had at his command an enormous amount of human labour; but the means by which he had obtained it reflected no credit whatever, either upon his own personal character or upon the policy of Egypt. Their fables covered up this weak place so effectually, that for more than 2000 years the truth regarding it has never been suspected. All this will, we trust, appear in the sequel.

According to Herodotus, when SESOSTRIS was reinstated on the throne of Egypt after his return from his foreign wars, he employed the vast host of prisoners he had brought with him in hewing stones in the quarries, and in dragging them from thence to the sites on which he erected temples to the gods. The stones of the temple of Phtha at Memphis, which exceeded in magnitude those of any other temple in Egypt, he especially mentions as having been quarried and

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brought thither by the prisoners of SESOSTRIS.* The historian describes two *andriantes* (human figures supporting entablatures), each 32 cubits high, representing SESOSTRIS and his queen, and of four of his sons, each 20 cubits high, that stood in front of this temple.†

In proof of the perfect accuracy of the Greek historian, the statue of SESOSTRIS has long been known still to remain prostrate at Metrahenny, on the site of Memphis. The excavation of the French Commission, now in progress, will probably also have brought to light the remains of the accompanying figures, so as completely to verify the description of the temple by Herodotus.‡

SESOSTRIS, likewise, according to the same authority, dug all the canals and channels that fertilized Egypt at the time of the historian's visit, so as to make it altogether unfit for travelling, either by chariots or horses. It had formerly been celebrated for its horse-roads, but SESOSTRIS entirely broke them up by the canals and channels which he dug, intersecting them; so that this mode of travelling was entirely disused. We need scarcely explain, that by Egypt the historian here and everywhere meant that part of Egypt with which he and his countrymen were best acquainted—the Delta.§

* ii. 108. † *Idem*, 109.

‡ The priests added to this account of the temple of Phtha a story, that Darius, the Persian, was overwhelmed with astonishment at the sight of these *andriantes*. This is by no means probable. The colossal sculptures, both of Assyria and Persia, were nearly equal to them, and, doubtless, to the taste and preconceptions of Darius, would be far more imposing. § *u. s.*

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We have quoted this passage before.* It will appear from its collation with the text we were then illustrating, that SESOSTRIS hereby undid the work accomplished by his warlike ancestor THOTHMOSIS, who drove horse-roads in many directions across the Delta, for the convenience of his military operations.

He goes on to tell us, that by this system of irrigation the Egyptians were enabled to build cities in places where before it had been impracticable; for in that country water can only be had in sufficient quantities from the river. A very small supply can be obtained there by digging wells. He afterwards divided the land thus reclaimed into square blocks, which he distributed to the Egyptians by lot. He likewise appointed land-surveyors, and other officers, to regulate the just proportion of water from the river to each allotment.

Two facts, very important to the history of Egypt, are embodied in this statement. The first is, that new cities were built in the district reclaimed in consequence of the system of channels dug by the prisoners of SESOSTRIS. The second is, that the district thus reclaimed had not been hitherto accounted a part of Egypt Proper, neither had its surface been in the possession of Egyptians. The direction which our long-continued investigation has taken, almost from the beginning, will have fully prepared our readers for this last fact, and have rendered to them perfectly intelligible and natural, that which has hitherto presented itself as a formidable difficulty, in the narrative of Herodotus.

* Above, p. 239.

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We must now consider the account given by Diodorus Siculus of the works of this hero in peace.

Having completed his wars, he became ambitious of fame, as a benefactor of mankind, and especially of Egypt. He began with the gods, and built in every city in Egypt a temple to the god that was principally worshipped there.*

It is impossible for a stronger proof to be adduced, from monumental evidence, than that which we are able to furnish from this passage, that the monarch before us must be the *Sesoosis* of this historian.

There is not a mound of ruins in the entire Delta, there is scarcely one either in Middle or Upper Egypt, in which the name of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES has not been inscribed. In the Delta, especially, not only is it read everywhere, but there are not more than four localities in which any other royal name occurs.† Thus clear is it that our monumental monarch is the *Sesoosis* of Diodorus, as well as the SESOSTRIS of Herodotus.

In all these constructions he never employed Egyptian workmen, but only the prisoners he had taken in his wars, and therefore he inscribed over every temple that he built, "No native Egyptian hath laboured at this construction."‡

Herodotus had given us exactly the same account of the works of this hero. It was by the forced labours of his prisoners, and not by the oppression of his

* i. 56.

† Wilkinson: *Modern Egypt*, pp. 423—455. Lepsius: *Einleitung*, pp. 337—359.

‡ *u. s.*

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subjects, that SESOSTRIS covered the Delta with cities and cornfields, and all Egypt with temples and other gorgeous constructions. The monumental verification of this fact also, it will be in our power to offer.

This king likewise constructed many great mounds of earth for the purpose of defending from the waters of the inundation those cities which had hitherto been exposed to them. These mounds, which afforded most convenient refuges, both for men and cattle, at the time of the overflow, were still in existence when Diodorus was in Egypt, and many of them were shown to him as the works of *Sesoosis*.*

The great work of irrigation ascribed to SESOSTRIS by Herodotus, was in like manner performed by the *Sesoosis* of Diodorus. He dug many canals, intersecting the whole country from Memphis to the Sea. This both increased the fertility of the land and facilitated the commerce of its inhabitants; but the most important reason of all was, that it rendered the country impossible to traverse by chariots and horses; for this part of Egypt had before been perfectly adapted for equestrian warfare, and had suffered greatly from the incursions of its warlike neighbours to the eastward; but after this it was no longer liable to invasion from chariots and horsemen.†

It is impossible not to recall here the monumental facts which our present investigation has produced, and which so fully establish the truth of this statement. The wars of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES were principally with Sheth, who repeatedly invaded the Delta with a vast

* *u.s.* † *Idem*, 57.

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force of chariotry. Upon this point, the Greek tradition and the monuments mutually confirm one another.

Another fact connected with the interpretation of the picture-histories of wars on the temples of Egypt, is likewise implied in the passage now before us. The north-eastern frontier of Egypt had frequently suffered invasion from the neighbouring tribes in the early days of SESOSTRIS, and in the times that preceded him. This account was given by the priests to Diodorus; and had it not been a fact, they certainly were not the men to invent a circumstance so little creditable to their country. Such being the case on this frontier, it appears to us far more probable, at first sight, that these vast reliefs represent the expulsion of foreign invaders from Egypt, than conquests in Central Asia. Yet has this last interpretation been hitherto the only one admitted by the leading authorities on our subject. The writer of the present work has stood for years alone in advocating the opposite opinion.

In addition to these benefits, *Sesoosis* fortified the eastern frontier of Egypt against the attacks of Syria and Arabia, from Pelusium across the desert to Heliopolis, a distance of 1500 stadia (172 miles).*

We shall be able to adduce monumental evidence confirmatory of the truth of this statement. It is also worthy of note, that he includes Pelusium in his chain of fortification. It seems from thenceforth to have become a part of Egypt, and its possession was no longer debated with the Canaanites. It is mentioned for the

* *u. s.*

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last time on the monuments of Egypt, in the pictures of the wars of SESOSTRIS.

Sesoosis also built a sacred bark to Amun of Thebes, of cedar wood, which was 280 cubits (425 feet) long. This was overlaid with gold on the outside, and silver in the inside. He likewise erected two granite obelisks, each 120 cubits high, upon which he inscribed the greatness of his power, and the multitude of his expeditions, and the number of nations he had subdued. In Memphis he erected two monolith statues of himself and his wife, 30 cubits high, and also statues of his sons, 20 cubits high. So great was this king, that many kings of conquered nations came to his court at appointed times with their tribute. They were honourably entertained; but when *Sesoosis* would go forth to the temple or to the city, they were yoked to his chariot instead of horses, so that he went forth drawn by four kings or princes, to show his great superiority over all other monarchs. In short, this king very far surpassed all the kings that have ever reigned in Egypt in deeds of war and in works of peace, both sacred and secular.*

The remains of Thebes at this day show that the works of the hero of Diodorus in that capital are greatly understated by him. Two of its greatest palace-temples were begun and finished by SESOSTRIS, and there is scarcely a ruin remaining in Eastern or Western Thebes to which he did not make large additions. The traveller has evidently described the objects which were pointed out to him as the works of SESOSTRIS,

* 57, 58.

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of which he retained the recollection. The story of the kings in the chariot is a mere Persian fiction; but the superiority of SESOSTRIS, as the benefactor of Egypt, over all the kings that reigned before or after him, is a fact the literal truth of which, the monuments of his reign triumphantly establish.

Our monumental history of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES must now be renewed. We shall confine ourselves to those documents which seem to possess interest, because they illustrate his internal policy, or his external political relations, or his individual character. The monuments of his reign, we repeat it, cover Egypt, and fill the museums of Europe. A mere descriptive catalogue of them would be at once tedious and uninstructive. We proceed in chronological order.

The fortification of the north-eastern frontier, mentioned by Diodorus, proves, like so many other particulars of this Greek tradition, to be perfectly true. It is commemorated on the western propylon of the Memnonium. It consisted of a chain of small forts or towers. More than twenty of them were originally in this relief, which is now much mutilated.* They were commenced in his eighth year. The building of each of these towers was entrusted to one of the *Heteri* of the king, who are represented, one by each fort driving a gang of bound prisoners to work at it. The name of each of these forts was also inscribed on it in the picture. Of the few that remain unerased, there are none that we have been able clearly to identify with known ancient or existing modern names. It is, how-

* Leps. iii. 156.

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ever, worthy of note, that one of them, *tope-re*, "the cemetery,"* is said to be in the land of the Amorite. We found on the reliefs of SETHOS, that Pelusium in his days also belonged to the same people. It would therefore appear that both they and the Jebusites had pushed their possessions in the Desert of Suez, close to the borders of Egypt, at this time.

The facts that SESOSTRIS-RAMSES fortified the eastern frontier of Egypt, that he employed in this work persons in the condition of prisoners of war, and that he began this great work in his eighth year, are very clearly established by this relief. It took many years to complete it. The war with Lower Arvad in his ninth and tenth years (which, as we have seen, was his last recorded war), may probably have been connected with it. The two preceding ones with Sheth certainly would not yield a supply of prisoners at all adequate to the present undertaking. This may be very soberly and safely stated. Yet would the necessity of such a defence be strongly impressed, both upon the Xoite and Theban Pharaohs, by these events. Under such circumstances, nothing is more probable than that the latter should suggest to his weaker brother the subjection of the Canaanite settlers throughout the whole Delta to forced labour as strangers. From this degradation they had hitherto been free under the rule of the sons of APHOPHIS, as natives of the same foreign country as Joseph. Lower Arvad, that is, Tyre, was not exempted from this decree; and in this circumstance we believe the war of the ninth and tenth years

* Vol. i. p. 327, note ‡

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may have originated. Notwithstanding the powerful support of SESOSTRIS, the war was not a successful one to the Xoite Pharaoh. The wall was certainly not continued at this time, for the Delta was again invaded by Sheth long afterwards. It would be unlikely that Israel would support the king of Lower Egypt in such a course of policy; and without him the Xoite sceptre was utterly powerless. SESOSTRIS, who was a great politician, made the best for himself of this defeat of his ally; one of the terms of the treaty was, as we have said, the sculpture of the mendacious tablets on the banks of the Lycus.

As we have now a considerable interval of the long reign of SESOSTRIS, during which there are no dated monuments of historical interest, we take the opportunity of considering the character and government of this manifestly greatest of the Pharaohs, and also the condition of Egypt at the earlier periods of his long reign.

If the testimony of the monuments is to be received, it was to the statesmanship and policy of SESOSTRIS rather than to his military exploits, that Egypt was indebted for the unparalleled prosperity that doubtless befel her under his rule. The many likenesses of him that still exist show, that in point of personal appearance he had considerably the advantage of any king of Egypt that went before or followed him. These, as the historian of another epoch has wisely said concerning another hero,* "are advantages despised by none save those to whom they are denied." He must likewise have been

* Gibbon on Mahomed. Decline and Fall, vol. ii.

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largely endowed with those mental qualities which made the best and the utmost of all circumstances within his reach, and therefore eminently befitted a ruler.

It is true, there is one point only in which we are able distinctly to trace the workings of this quality, such is the imperfect nature of these monumental records. But this point was religion, in his day and country by far the most influential and telling of all the motives whereby mankind were actuated.

The Amonian fanaticism, the outbursts of which we have traced so frequently in our review of the long line of his ancestry, disappears altogether from the religious monuments of SESOSTRIS. Not at all behind the most zealous of them in the adoration of Amun, the tutelary of his family, he did not, nevertheless, seek to exalt him by heaping insults upon the gods of other cities in Egypt. We believe that not a monument of SESOSTRIS is in existence whence the names and effigies of other gods have been erased to make room for those of Amun, according to the constant practice of all his immediate predecessors. Neither are the other gods pourtrayed in his temples as the mere ministers and remote inferiors of Amun, always behind him in place, and often one-third, and even one-sixth of his height. These insults to the gods of all other cities than Thebes are especially common on the monuments of SETHOS his father, but nothing of this kind, we repeat, appears in the temples and other religious devices of SESOSTRIS. Far from it, we find in them an earnest desire to honour all the gods as well as Amun. To such an extent was this carried by him, that even the disc of

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the sun, the especial abomination of his immediate predecessors, was worshipped by him in a votive tablet at Djebel-Silsili.* Of all these local gods, however, there is certainly not one to whom SESOSTRIS was so prominently assiduous in his devotions, as Phtha of Memphis. There is scarcely a mythic device on any of the numberless monuments of his reign that still exist, on which he does not record his devotion to this god, whom the whole line of his ancestors from AMOSIS had insulted and vilified. He even carries this so far in many instances, as to place him second only to Amun himself. Even Maut, the wife of Amun, and Chonsis their son, are made to follow the Phtha of Memphis. These very remarkable changes in religion are so conspicuous everywhere, when the monuments of SESOSTRIS are compared with those of his predecessors, that it is scarcely possible to select examples of them. They appear very conspicuously at Karnak, at Gournou, and other temples which SESOSTRIS completed, or to which he made additions. They may be detected in almost every religious device of his reign.

We have often before had occasion to point out the utter mistake, now so commonly prevalent, of assuming that the Egyptian mythology was a great system, completed at its first invention and never afterwards altered. The fallacy of this will appear just as conspicuously in the myths of the epoch now before us, as in those of any that have preceded it.

SESOSTRIS evidently copied the examples of his illustrious ancestors, queen TAI, and her son AMENO-

* Wilkinson, *u. s.*

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PHIS-MEMNON, in these religious changes. He set before him the prosperous reign and the wide dominions of the latter, and he had the sagacity and clearness of judgment to connect them with the politic and comprehensive mythic modifications of the former, as effect with cause. He perceived, that to be a great king over Egypt, he must conform as far as possible to the religious prepossessions of all the cities of Egypt; not exalt Amun and Thebes at the expense of every other locality. It is, moreover, highly probable, that the ill effects of the opposite policy, which his ancestors had so long and obstinately persevered in, were already beginning to show themselves. They had been perceptible even in the days of SETHOS. We have noticed his essay at Gournou in Western Thebes, to conciliate to the worship of Amun, the votaries of Monthra, the primitive deity of that locality.* SESOSTRIS, his son, followed him fully out in this effort at conciliation. He did not content himself with merely completing the temple at Gournou, which was dedicated to Amun and Monthra combined into one god. He likewise founded and finished another and far more gorgeous structure (the Memnonium), to the same compound god, in the same locality. Neither did he limit his conciliatory measures to Western Thebes only. We have already noticed the evidence of this liberal and comprehensive spirit, which shows itself so clearly on all the mythic monuments of his reign.

SESOSTRIS was not mistaken in his calculated issue of the line of policy which he so vigorously pursued. He

* Above p. 424.

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reigned over the hearts of his subjects as well as over their persons and properties, and even from his accession, Upper Egypt and her dependencies, to the very confines of Ethiopia, began a career of peaceful progress, wherein she soon attained to an elevation in national prosperity altogether unparalleled at any other period of her history.

The policy of SESOSTRIS toward Lower Egypt, or the Xoite kingdom, must now be considered.

The weak and crippled condition of the throne of APHOPHIS at this period, we have often had occasion to notice. It could not be otherwise, if the Mosaic account of Israel in Egypt is to be regarded. The swarming myriads of these strangers crowded the cities of the Delta, and covered with their flocks its grassy plains; and before them the native Egyptians, the descendants of the old king-worshippers of the pyramids, were fast passing away, either by absorption or migration. The Israelites were rich as well as numerous. The wealth of Egypt was being daily transferred into their hands. The allegiance of these immigrants to the Xoite throne would necessarily be very ill-defined and equivocal. Strangers in the land, yet having both possessions and immunities in it, and in all probability passing the months of overflow every year in the Desert of Suez and in the plains of Canaan, their obligation to the laws of Egypt would be of a mixed and anomalous character. In the frequent wars with Canaan, to which, as we have seen from the monuments, the Xoite throne was incessantly exposed, the aid of Israel would be given or withholden

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from it, as best suited the interests and inclinations of the several tribes; and it is highly improbable that Pharaoh would be in possession of any means whereby to enforce his claims. This we take to be one of the chief causes of the rapid decline of the Xoite kingdom.

Another very active agent was also at work for its decay; this was its Canaanitish population: groups from many different tribes, each dwelling in its own stronghold, rigidly keeping up its own customs, and sympathizing in all the movements of its kindred across the desert, whether of peace or war. The ordinary turbulence of these warlike races had at this time suffered a grievous aggravation, from the commencement of one of those great revolutions, which so frequently befel them. The coeval monuments of Egypt satisfactorily certify the reality of this occurrence, even though we had otherwise no better authority for it, than a prophecy written in one of the books of Moses, and a short historical passage in another, relating the fulfilment of that prophecy. The Divine promise to Abraham, regarding the land of Canaan, had at this time begun to receive its accomplishment. The collateral branches of his family and kindred were dispossessing the septs and clans of Canaan from the whole of the south-east of their land. Esau, now a great and mighty nation, was already in possession of all the habitable places in the districts of Mount Seir, to the eastward of Sinai; many of them, to this day, of exceeding fertility. Moab and Ammon, the children of Lot, had in like manner multiplied exceedingly in the

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mountains of Sheth or Siddim, and the various tribes of Canaanites, their inhabitants, were suffering extermination from the frequent and fierce onslaughts of their hosts of charioteers.* The most considerable of these tribes, the Zuzim,† fled in vast numbers across the desert, to their possessions in Ham, and sought and found, as we have seen, the aid of Pharaoh. They also discovered, like Israel long afterwards, that "the Egyptians were men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit."‡ This respite was doubtless sold at a costly price. The Zuzim lost all their rights in the land. Their name as a nation disappears altogether from the monuments, after the war of the ninth of SESOSTRIS, and thenceforward only appears in her language as the appellative for degradation and ignominy. They were stripped of their privileges and immunities in Egypt, and were thenceforward liable to forced service as strangers in the land, until they were finally absorbed in the bulk of the population. In these circumstances, we conceive that the use of their name in the Egyptian language, as a common noun signifying degradation, must have originated.

The disastrous consequences of the wars, tumults, and immigrations of warlike strangers, consequent upon this great revolution, to a government already so weak

* See Deut. ii.

† Called by the Ammonites Zumzummim, which seems to be a compound word for זוזים אימים, "the terrible Zuzim" (v. 20). They were noted both for stature, strength, and prowess.

‡ Is. xxxi. 3.

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and divided as that of the Xoite Pharaohs, may be easily imagined. The single example of these troubles supplied by the monuments, is a highly instructive one. In the wars now before us, it cannot for a moment be imagined that Israel would unite with Egypt and the Zuzim against his kindred Sheth, if he had the power to assert his independence, which assuredly he had.* Here, then, would be an element of weakness and depression to the Xoite king, which all the power and policy of his Theban brother could by no means cast out at this time, and which his utmost aid could scarcely counterwork. Such was the enfeebled state of the Xoite kingdom at the epoch before us. It was crumbling to pieces through want of coherency among the particles of which it was composed.

The many traits we have discovered on the monuments, of the liberal and comprehensive policy of SESOSTRIS, will have prepared us to expect that his dealings with the Xoite government would be similarly characterized. It was in every particular the reverse of his father's. So carefully did he abstain from the insults which breathe from almost every device in the reliefs of SETHOS against the Xoite kingdom, that only once is this power mentioned at all in any of the three pictures of the battle of Pelusium. We believe that the disguised transcriptions of the names of cities in the Delta in the second war with Sheth † were as much dictated by delicacy towards the Xoite king as by ostentation. The very conspicuous honours paid by

* See Exod. i. 9, 10. † Above, p. 485.

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SESOSTRIS to Phtha of Memphis, of which we have given so many instances, will likewise be perceived as an obvious issue of the same course of policy. We are likewise prepared to state that he still more strikingly reversed the narrow and destructive fanaticism of his father. He restored Memphis to the Xoite kingdom. This remarkable fact is plainly stated in the picture of the battle of Pelusium, at the Memnonium. Memphis is there again named *Noph;* therefore assuredly Memphis was once more in the hands of the Xoite Pharaoh. This daring outrage upon all the traditions of his family exhibits to us SESOSTRIS as a bold and fearless, as well as a wise and politic ruler.

This great king was just as successful in his external as in his internal policy, as will abundantly appear in the sequel of his history. He certainly may have foreseen all the consequences of his concessions; but this is to assign to him an amount of foresight and sagacity such as rarely falls to the lot of mortals. We rather incline to the opinion that the policy of SESOSTRIS was in the first instance the dictate of a kindly disposition and generous heart, revolted from his father's maxims of state by their narrow bigotry, and that it was the success of his first beginnings that induced him to persevere in it. We were anxious to state here our convictions regarding the general character and policy of SESOSTRIS, because the circumstances of his reign, which immediately follow, will, in a large measure, associate him with questions and investigations that interest the sons of men now upon the earth; and these circumstances are by no means calculated to create a favourable impression of him.

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The aid so freely rendered to the Xoite kingdom from the now ample resources of SESOSTRIS proved insufficient to save it from the destruction which was visibly impending. Sheth returned to the charge. We know nothing but the issue of this expedition. City after city in the Delta fell before him, and he, with Israel, seems to have acquired the supremacy, probably keeping up the shadow of a king upon the Xoite throne. Such appears to have been the condition of Lower Egypt when we again recover the thread of our monumental history in the twenty-first year of SESOSTRIS.

The document which once more continues the story of the reign of this great king, is one, the value of which we very recently ascertained and pointed out,* though our acquaintance with it was then confined to a by no means faultless copy, and to our own very hasty and imperfect notes from the original, taken under the burning sun of July in Egypt. The subsequent publication of the German copy,† places before us a far more reliable transcript of a monument, the importance of which, to the history of mankind, will not be found inferior to that of the arch of Titus at Rome, should it prove that we have rightly interpreted its meaning. The inscription to which we allude is engraven on the southern outer wall of the hypostyle hall of Karnak. SETHOS, at his death, left, as we have said, this portion of the grand work of his life still incomplete. His son finished it, and seems to have made it the archive of all the great transactions of his reign, whether of peace or war, save the battle of Pelusium.

* Israel in Egypt: Seeleys, 1854. † Lepsius iii. 146.

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The record itself consists of 38 horizontal lines of hieroglyphics, enclosed at the sides by two broad upright bands, containing the names and titles of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES in very large characters. It is headed by a double act of worship. In that to the right, SESOSTRIS adores the Amun of the palace of Karnak, together with Maut, his wife. In that to the left, he worships the same god, and Phtha of Memphis. It is dated the 21st day of the 5th month (Tobi), of the 21st year of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, who is declared to be beloved (that is, under the special protection) of certain gods in the following order:

AMUN-RE, of Karnak.
ATHOM, of Heliopolis.
PHTHA, of Memphis.
MAUT, of Karnak.
CHONSIS, of Karnak.*

It will be observed, that in this arrangement, Athom of Heliopolis, and Phtha of Memphis, are second only to the father-god of the temple, and that both the goddess and the filial god of the shrine, are made inferior to them. This is a very conspicuous instance of the liberal and comprehensive policy of SESOSTRIS. No such concession to the gods of Lower Egypt is to be found on the monuments, either of his father or of any other of his immediate ancestors.

The inscription, which has, unhappily, sustained many mutilations, commences its narrative by relating, that at this date SESOSTRIS was in the palace dedicated to and named after his Upper Egyptian name,

* Line i.

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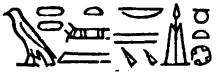
tshe an-he (*me-amn ramss*), doubtless in the same manner as the cave of Abou-Simbel was dedicated to his name in Lower Egypt.* In this palace he was singing the songs of his fathers Amun-Re, Re-Athom, lord of both Egypts in On, the Amun of (*me-amn ramss*), and the Phtha of the same Upper Egyptian name; that is, he worshipped Amun-Re of Karnak, and the gods of the three capitals of Egypt—Athom of Heliopolis, Amun of Thebes, and Phtha of Memphis, who were also the gods to whom the palace was dedicated.

The circumstance that SESOSTRIS constructed a temple to his Lower Egyptian name at Abou-Simbel, on the uttermost border of Upper Egypt, is in itself suggestive of the conclusion that the palace of his Upper Egyptian name must have been situated in Lower Egypt. The order in which the three capitular gods are named in the text, and the mode of their nomination, not only confirm the suggestion, but furnish us with a clue to the locality of the palace. Re-Athom  stands first, with his full title, whereas the other two are strictly localized in the palace. *Amun of* RAMSES, *Phtha of* RAMSES. These particulars point, with a distinctness by no means usual in hieroglyphic writings, to the conclusion that the palace of RAMSES was situated in the great division of Egypt,

* Above, p. 460.

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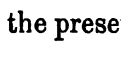
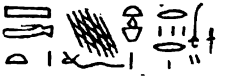
over which the city of Heliopolis was especially the capital—that is, Lower Egypt, or the Delta, if not in that city itself.

The occasion upon which he held this high festival was, indeed, a solemn and momentous one. All that ever had been called Egypt was his. "The mountains and the plains of the whole land," in the phrase of the inscription, "were beneath his sandals."* Here, then, was the fulfilment of the boldest flight of ambition that had ever fired the breast of the greatest of the long line of his ancestors. The thought was as old as the monarchy. It had stirred in the bosom of MENES. It had been the pretence of every individual who had sat upon his throne, and whose name was encircled with his venerated symbol. And now, for the first time through the lapse of centuries, this long-cherished idea comes forth embodied as a reality. SESOSTRIS-RAMSES is the undisputed king over all Egypt and its dependencies. Well might the achiever of such a consummation be great in his country's annals, and the hero of the priestly fables of long succeeding ages.

The entire erasure of the third line unhappily breaks the continuity of the narrative. In the fourth line we find SESOSTRIS in treaty with *the king of Sheth* whose name was *Shethsiri.*  This personage had come into the presence of his majesty to treat concerning *two spring wells* 

* Line ii.

† *Biri;* Copt. ϩωωρϩ, to "spring up," which seems to be the root of the Hebrew word בְּאֵר, "a well."

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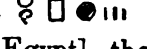
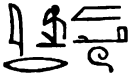
which had been dug by a chief named *Sebu* on his birthday.

SESOSTRIS-RAMSES having enlarged his boundaries, so that they included the whole land of Egypt, the possessions [in Egypt] of Shethsiri, king of Sheth, the son of Moabrisiri, the king of Sheth, the son of [name erased] ..... *were included in them* (?) therefore he came to supplicate with *jewels set in silver*, * SESOSTRIS [name in Lower Egypt], the great  king of Egypt, the son of SETHOS [Lower Egypt], the great king of Egypt, the son of RAMESSU [Lower Egypt], the great king of Egypt, for these his possessions.

It would seem that meat, drink, and incense offerings to the gods of Egypt, accompanied the request of the king of Sheth. There is, however, but a fragment remaining of the sentence which alludes to this.

The cause of the disagreement had been that the prince (or duke) of Ar-Moab, the brother of Shethsiri, had attempted to set up for worship, in some locality in Egypt, the statue of one of the gods of Moab. SESOSTRIS resented this procedure, and compelled the prince of *Ar-Moab*,  † whose name was *Moab*

* Or with "rings of silver." The first word, *annu*, may be the root of the Latin word *annulus*, a ring. The determinative seems to be a bag.

† He is elsewhere named *Ar-Moab* only. The princes of Moab were named after the cities of Moab. Thus the king who had probably annexed the Canaanite city of *Eglon* to Moab (Josh. x. 3, &c.), was named *Eglon* (Judges iii. 12).

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Tanir, to desist. The king of Sheth visited Egypt upon this occasion, and by treaty conceded the possessions of Sheth in Egypt to the crown of SESOSTRIS.*

We infer from the conspicuous part taken by Sheth in this remarkable transaction, that, far from having suffered annihilation from the defeat he had sustained at Pelusium, sixteen years before, this great power had steadily pursued his career of conquest against the Zuzim, both in Canaan and Egypt; and that the latter were now exterminated.

It was, likewise, stipulated, that the strife between *Phre, i.e.*, "Re-Athom," the god of the Delta, and *Seth* or *Sethonis*,† the god of Sheth, should cease in the land of Egypt, and in Ar-Moab, in the land of Sheth, and, also, that the forms of the *demons*, ‡ or false gods, should be *mutilated*

* Lines 5—8.

† Above, p. 386. The round stone, which in this text only represents the syllable *oni*, instead of the ordinary square one , has, I doubt not, been introduced in allusion to some sacred stone of this form, worshipped by the Shethites in Egypt.

‡ The meaning of the word was first ascertained by Mr. Birch. A classified system of demonology seems to have formed a part of the belief of Ancient Egypt from the first. In the inscription on the tomb of Amunei at Beni-hassan, mention is made of "the avenging demons," "the tearing demons," and "the watching demons," all the enemies of the dead. This tomb is of the era of SESORTOSIS I.

In the text before us the word "demon" invariably denotes a strange or foreign god.

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and cast down for ever. In confirmation of the whole treaty, offerings and incense were thenceforward to be perpetually presented to the gods of Egypt. The phraseology of this passage is very remarkable:

"Shethsir, the king of Sheth, explained unto the king, that the possessions of Ar-Moab [in Egypt] were those of SESOSTRIS from that day.

Also that he would offer to the whole of *the gods of Egypt* * offerings of incense.

Also that that which had been cast down [the gods of Sheth] should remain so for ever.

[The prince of] Ar-Moab added incense.

[The prince of] Ar-Moab added offerings.

[The prince of] Ar-Moab added incense again.

[The prince of] Ar-Moab added offerings again.

In token that [the treaty] should be for ever and ever.

Even Moab-Tanir, the chief of Sheth.

He was the brother of the king.†

Our readers must not forget the caution we have so often had occasion to administer, regarding the history embodied in these writings. The glory of Egypt, and not historical truth, was the object aimed at by their composers. This they strove to compass by the most grievous exaggerations, and by every other conceivable form of falsehood. *A fortiori*, therefore, we might have inferred that such writers would make no scruple of lies of omission, and that consequently the concessions of Egypt to Sheth in the treaty, would find no place in

* Lit., "good creators" or "creations." † Lines 9, 10.

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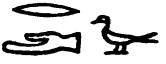
their chronicles. Such is accordingly the case. Yet that so powerful a nation as we find Sheth to have been at this time, from these very documents, should have given up valuable possessions in the Delta without a struggle or a compensation, is on the face of it absurdly impossible. No doubt, therefore, can remain, that the treaty before us was one of mutual concession. What may have been the compensation given by Egypt to Sheth, cannot of course be said certainly; but we may with no improbability conjecture, that they would consist of immunities for trade, and of stations in the Desert of Suez, to which Egypt had hitherto laid claim.

The rest of the preliminaries of this treaty are rendered unintelligible by the many erasures which the twelfth and thirteenth lines of the inscription have sustained. It appears from the fragments, that the presents or offerings of Sheth were to be in the form of a perpetual obligation or tribute. The *treaty* or *alliance* 𓂋𓏏𓋴𓏏 (Coptic ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ, "unite"), between the *strong race* and the *weak race*,  that is, between Egypt and Sheth, is at length concluded; the high contracting parties being Sesostris-Ramses, king of Egypt, and Shethsiri, king of Sheth.* The rest of the document seems to be occupied with the account of the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty on the part of Sheth.

The next legible phrase is in the ordinary style of all these inscriptions. Sheth, which we may now at

* Lines 13, 14.

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any rate identify with Moab,* divests himself of the whole of his possessions, and empties the treasury of his father in the *gated city of Aroer*. In like manner, his brother Moab-Tanir had exhausted the treasuries of Ar-Moab. Still the demands of Pharaoh are not satisfied. It seemed, therefore, that a new stipulation was entered into between them. The terms of it are in a strain of arrogance and insolence, unparalleled even on the temple walls of Egypt.

Thus saith SESOSTRIS,
Let the tail-king † come,
And his soldiers with him,
Even this king of Sheth; ‡
Let him and his soldiers [we supply these words; *a mutilation here*],
Overthrow the idols [demons] of Sheth
Which are in the land of Egypt [*another mutilation*].

The king of Sheth refused to attend in person to this unheard-of summons, but seems to have proposed

* We are by no means certain that the identification of Sheth with Moab and Ammon has yet received the sanction of the higher authorities on our subject. Bunsen believes Sheth to be the Hittites; De Rougè inclines to the same opinion. Another class of writers still adhere to the notion, that Sheth is the Scythians, being manifestly unwilling that the visions of civilizations in the heart of Africa and far in central Asia, 1500 years before the vulgar era, which had been called up by the fables of Herodotus, should be dispelled. For ourselves, we must confess, notwithstanding, that the evidence of the identity of Sheth with Moab and Ammon, seems strong enough to establish it as a fact.

† The first character is the tail of an animal. The same character is used as the initial of the name of the star *Sothis* in the tomb of SETHOS, and elsewhere. We have said (vol. i. p. 459), that *Sothis* means "tail." ‡ Line 15.

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that the destruction of the idols of Sheth in Egypt should be done by proxy. The place is, however, so greatly mutilated,* that it is scarcely possible to ascertain from the few remaining fragments what the import of this part of the inscription may have been. Enough remains to show that the destruction of the gods of Moab in Egypt, by the Moabites themselves, was still the condition insisted upon by SESOSTRIS.

This strange passage introduces another stipulation into the treaty between Sheth and Egypt; by the terms of which Sheth engaged to supply SESOSTRIS with slaves, for the purpose of obliterating all trace of this proscribed or demon worship from the land of Egypt.†

We have repeatedly in the course of this our inquiry pointed out the destructive propensities of the race of kings, the greatest of whom is now before us. This remarkable passage shows us that SESOSTRIS, notwithstanding his liberal and comprehensive policy, yielded to none of his predecessors in his zeal against all unauthorized modifications of idolatry in Egypt, and against their authors. Doubtless the race of the Xoite or Shepherd kings, together with the changes which they had made in the idols of Egypt, unsanctioned by the Theban priesthood, would be included in his proscription. No wonder that all traces of the Xoite Pharaohs have perished, and that, therefore, their history (as we shall now immediately find) lies buried in such deep obscurity. The utter destruction of all the memorials of them from the face of Egypt, formed the express pretext under which SESOSTRIS demanded

* Lines 16—19. † Line 19.

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slaves from Sheth, in the inscription before us. Who these slaves must have been, will now soon be made apparent.

The erasures which occur in the part of the inscription now before us, again render it unintelligible. A fragment of the 22nd line informs us that the king of Sheth bound himself by strong obligations against the nonfulfilment of his part of the treaty. It would also seem that the *viceroys* or *delegates* of SESOSTRIS were empowered to see to this fulfilment, one part of which was, that the lands of Sheth should be [from thenceforth] the lands of SESOSTRIS.

In the 23rd line (still miserably mutilated) we find that captives were brought from the land of Sheth, and presented to RAMSES.

The remaining fragment of the 24th line informs us that [these captives] were brought to RAMSES (Upper Egypt) to compensate for wrongs done to SESOSTRIS (Lower Egypt).

A disjointed sentence of the 25th line repeats the fact, the captives were collected in the land of Sheth, which were presented to SESOSTRIS in reparation of wrongs done to him.

These broken sentences have preserved facts of much importance. SESOSTRIS-RAMSES is in the first place king of the Delta, as well as of Thebes. His Lower Egyptian name denotes the reality, not the mere empty boast, of his sovereignty over Lower Egypt. How he acquired this sovereignty will appear hereafter.

The other fact is also of great weight. One principal

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article of the obligation of Sheth consisted in the delivery of slaves or hostages.

The fragment that remains of the 27th line is an extraordinary one. The present of Sheth, whether consisting of silver rings, or of jewels set in silver, was the issue of the many words [that had passed] between the destroying gods and the avenging goddesses of the land of Sheth, and the destroying gods and the avenging goddesses of the land of Egypt. They were cast down before the gates, probably, "of the palace of RAMSES."

The present treaty then, like every other transaction in this monumental history, is an affair of religion. The gods of the two countries, as well as the kings, are the contracting parties. By them, also, have its terms been discussed, and the amount of their share of the interchanged presents has been determined by themselves.

It is not for a moment to be imagined that the divinities, whose temples and images were thus destroyed, were assumed by their spoliators to be false gods, much less *nonentities*,* according to our own persuasions on this point. The gods of Sheth were not only realities, but powerful beings, in the estimation of Ancient Egypt. Their expulsion or modification, therefore, even in their usurped domiciles in the Delta, could not be safely accomplished without their own consent, which, as we shall find, could only be had on the condition of ample compensation.

The remains of the 27th line also treat of the same subject.

* οἴδειν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ (1 Cor. viii. 4).

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The god [*lit.*, Seth] of the land of Sheth.
The god [Seth] of the city of [*mutilated*].
And the god of the city of Arnath.
And the god of the city of Pilku.
And the god of the city of Sachisu.
And the god of the city of Sele.
And the god of the city of.....
And the god.....

After a long mutilation, both at the end of the 27th and the beginning of the 28th lines, the enumeration still continues:

And the god of the city of Sepna.

We have, happily, the beginning and the end of this mutilated catalogue. There were seven cities named in the 27th line; the names of four of them being still legible. In the 28th line the name of the last city in the list only remains. The erased space would admit of four other names. So that the list, when perfect, has consisted of twelve cities. We must consider these names in the order of their occurrence.

1 Erased.

2 There can be no difficulty here, with our present experience of the mode of disguising the names of cities in Egypt in these writings, when in the hands of a rival dynasty or of a foreign settler. *Ar-nath*, "the city of Neith," can be no other than *Sais* in the Delta, which has so long been familiar to us as the city of the goddess Neith. That the name appears elsewhere, under a different disguise,* is a circumstance for which we are fully

* Above, p. 396.

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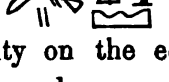
prepared, now that we know the object of their contrivance, which was to conceal, as far as possible, from the reader the unpalatable fact, that a city in Egypt was in the hands of a rival or a foreigner.

3 *Philku.* This name is likewise beset with no particular difficulty. It is the city on the edge of the eastern desert, named ΠΟΛΟΚ and ΒΕΛΚΑ, in the different lists of the bishopricks of Egypt.* It was near Bubastis, and somewhat to the north of Heliopolis.

4  *Chasisu*, or *Sachisu.* We have already identified this name with the ϲϧⲱⲟⲩ of the Copts, the *Sakha* of the Arabs, the *Succoth* of the Bible, and the *Xois* of the Greeks (*above*, p. 168).† Its occurrence here implies a fact all-important to our history. The Xoite rivalry is at an end, and the ancient capital of the sons of APHOPHIS is now for the first time a part of the dominions of the king of Thebes. If, then, our reading of the inscription before us is correct, it commemorates the final extinction of the schism, which began with the wars of MENCHERES,‡ and which had now dismembered the monarchy for more than eight hundred years. We have traced the fortunes of this hitherto unknown kingdom, hidden beneath the purposely-obscured and mystified annals of the rival throne, up to this the period of its extinction. It fell through sheer exhaustion into the arms of its great ally SESOSTRIS. The twelve cities,

* Champollion: *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. pp. 56, 96.

† *u.s.* p. 211. ‡ Vol. i. chap. vi.

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whose names are actually before us, were all that remained to it; and its precarious independence was only maintained by the aid of the Shethites.

5 *Sele.* A city of this name is mentioned in the Greek Itineraries. It was near Bubastis, in the eastern Delta. The modern Arab town built upon its ruins has been called after it, *Tsaleh.**

6 The name of this city is partly gone, so that it is no longer legible.

7 Entirely erased.

8 „ „

9 „ „

10 „ „

11 „ „

12 *Sepna.* Here, again, it does not seem possible that we can be mistaken. The name thus written cannot be any other than that of the city of Sebennytus, which we long ago detected in a Hebrew transcription; the name of its tutelary god *Henes* being disguised under the inversion *Seveneh.*†

Thus does it prove that all the legible names of the twelve cities, ceded by the king of Sheth to SESOSTRIS, are satisfactorily identified with localities in the Delta. It is, we conceive, impossible to bring stronger evidence of the fact, that the possession of this portion of Egypt was the subject of the treaty before us.

The inscription now proceeds to name the god whose

* Champollion ii. 77. † Vol. i. pp. 343, 356, &c.

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image and worship had been rejected from these twelve cities. The obscurity of these writings always becomes greater when the gods and their actions are the subject of them. This obscurity is, in the instance before us, so enhanced by the constant occurrence of mutilations, that scarcely a hope remains of arriving at the meaning of the present passage. It is, however, in itself so curious, and so highly instructive as to the mode of thought that prevailed in Egypt, that we cannot dismiss it without making the attempt:

[Now] Astarte [or Antarte] was the queen-goddess of the land of Sheth;

And the god of this [land], even over the waters thereof, was Ashtari.*

He was the god both of the waters and of the hills [*mutilation*].†

She [Astarte] was the queen-goddess of these cities, of their waters, of their plains, and of their hills;

Yea, she was the queen-goddess,

And the god over these lands was Ashtar.

[*Much mutilated*] thus was it arranged between the gods of Sheth and the gods of Egypt.

To this god Ashtar belonged the hills and the rivers of the land of Sheth.

These, then, were the gods over the hills:

Amun, and Phra, and Seth [*i.e.*, Ashtar];

These are the gods protectors.

And these are the goddesses ‡ of the hills [or quarries], and over the Niles [rivers] of the land of Egypt,

To whom belong the great waters [the Nile], and the air, and the branches of the river.

These are the words concerning which the rings of silver [were exchanged]

Between the land of Sheth and the land of Egypt.§

* The Asherim, or "groves" of the Bible. † Line 28.

‡ The names of these goddesses have disappeared in the following erasure.

§ Lines 28—31.

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In the midst of the extreme obscurity of these phrases, we can, nevertheless, detect the admission that Astarte, the queen of heaven, together with her inferior and male half Ashtar,* are made by this treaty gods in Egypt, and that their worship is formally inaugurated there. It was merely a change and modification in the form of it, not an entire expulsion, that was the subject of the negociation.

The notion of local gods, which we found to pervade the mythic system of Egypt on its first invention, remains in full force at the period now before us. The subject here discussed is to give, both to the gods of Sheth and Egypt, a new *locâle*, each being thenceforth to be worshipped in the same cities.

The inscription is now, for a short space, somewhat more perfect.

For the injuries perpetrated by the land of Sheth [against Egypt] were many;

Therefore many were the offerings he made to the god of the land of Egypt [*i.e.*, Re-Athom],

Even this house [the Ramesseum of Heliopolis, or the Delta], and this canal,

Which these his slaves constructed.

Also many were the wrongs in words which the rings of silver offered by Sheth [commuted (?)]. †

* * * * * * *

Therefore many were the transactions between the god of the land of Sheth and the god of the land of Egypt.

These offerings were made for their lives,

Even these of Ar-Moab.

This Ar-Moab ‡ gave into captivity these slaves,

* She seems to have been the great divinity of Canaan, to whom all the other gods were inferior, by the admission of all the authorities regarding her.

† Line 31. ‡ *i.e.*, Moab-Tanir, the Duke of Ar-Moab.

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For the first, the second, and the third generations.*
Which ..... by the king of Sheth ..... to the delegates,
To appease SESOSTRIS, the great king of Egypt.
Also those whom RAMSES, the great king of Egypt, had delegated,
By these was a perfect deprecation appointed to him;
Let there be brought.†
..... for this ..... their eyes, their mouths, their legs, [shall be mine; *i. e.*, they shall be slaves] .....
Likewise the race of the land of Moab shall be captive,
Both for the first, and for the second, and for the third generations.
Moreover, SESOSTRIS, the great king of Egypt, shall lead them;‡
Yea, they shall fulfil [the behests] of RAMSES, the great king of Egypt .....
..... *and of* (?) the delegates over the king of Sheth.
Let, moreover, ... each ..... *bring* (?)
His women and his children,
That the slaying of his mother may be forborne;
Also he *shall be a slave* [*mutilation*],§
As to his eyes, his mouth, his legs;
Also that the overthrow of the gods of Sheth, who are in his heart, may be forborne.
Let the silver money, appointed as a pacification,
Be laid before the image of the god of Sheth
On the day of his festival .....

* * * * * * *

Let, moreover, Shethsiri, the king of Sheth, be bound
By ..... before [his] god, the king of heaven,
Under the penalty of all *that he possesses* [*lit.*, that is in his hands at both his gates].||

"To the fulfilment of these conditions," would, doubtless, complete the sentence, but the whole of the rest of the inscription is so mutilated, that nothing is left but a few detached characters and groups; and the only phrase in the two last lines that remains legible,

* Line 32. † Line 33. ‡ Line 34. § Line 35. || Line 36.

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is the final one, in which the slaves of Sheth are bound to erect statues and temples to Phre in all the cities before enumerated.

This very extraordinary inscription was therefore a treaty, ostensibly between the Shethite settlers in the Delta, and SESOSTRIS, now its rightful king. The terms of the treaty are, of course, ridiculously exaggerated in favour of Egypt. The twelve cities possessed, or more probably protected, by Sheth in the Delta, were by one stipulation of it transferred to the allegiance of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. The worship of the idols of Canaan, introduced into them by the Shethites, was also to be extensively modified. The existing temples and images were either to be entirely destroyed or greatly changed, and new combinations, or fusions, between the idols of Canaan, and Amun, the god of SESOSTRIS, and Phra, the god of the Delta, were to be effected. The former modes and equipages of worship, used in the Delta by the Shethites, and doubtless by the Lower Egyptians also, are hereby declared to have been heretical and an offence to the gods, which must be atoned for by offerings of silver money. Shethite residents in Egypt were likewise to contribute their forced services for the accomplishment of all these changes, both of destruction and re-edification. To this service they bound themselves during three generations, after which their descendants would probably become naturalized in Egypt.

The equivalent paid by Egypt to Sheth, in exchange for this cession, is so studiously concealed throughout the inscription, that its existence can only be inferred

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from the analogy of all similar cases. The inference is, notwithstanding, as clear as the noon-day.

SESOSTRIS is palpably at this time the king of the Delta, as well as of all the rest of Egypt. He is residing at the date of the treaty in a palace named after his Upper Egyptian ring, and situated either in Heliopolis itself, or in the Delta, of which Heliopolis was the capital. That this sovereignty of the Delta was a new acquisition, to which none of his ancestors had ever attained, notwithstanding their pretence to it, is very significantly indicated by the phraseology of the inscription. His name in Lower Egypt (SESOSTRIS), demands assistance and reparation of his name in Upper Egypt (RAMSES), as of a separate entity. The two have distinct sets of officials by whom their behests are fulfilled, and distinct interests. It does not admit of a doubt, that the real and substantial nature of the dominion of SESOSTRIS in the Delta is shadowed forth by this strange mode of speech.

Whom we are to understand by these Shethite dwellers in Egypt, is a point, to our conviction, of supreme importance to our present undertaking in the first instance, and also to the history of mankind generally. By what means SESOSTRIS succeeded in finally healing the Shepherd Schism, and in annexing the Delta to the Theban crown, will likewise demand an inquiry altogether dependent upon the results obtained from the investigation of the preceding point.

We have repeatedly explained, that by the evidence of these monuments, the onslaught of the collateral

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branches of the race of Abraham upon the inhabitants of Canaan, took place just at the period now under consideration, and that one result of this invasion, was the pursuit of the Zuzim into Egypt by Moab, and the repeated actions of war consequent thereupon, of which we have found the monumental records. We know, upon the authority of the books of Moses, that at the time of this invasion, Israel was in Egypt. We infer from a very plain analogy, that their sympathy in the war that ensued, would be with their clansmen the children of Lot, rather than with the Canaanites and Mizraites, by whom they were opposed. The family traditions of Israel had been carefully preserved, and from them they would know that the success of Moab against the Zuzim was but the first-fruits of the prophetic blessing upon their common father; and that its full and final accomplishment was reserved for themselves. Naturally, therefore, and inevitably, their sympathies and good wishes would be with Sheth in the contest, even though, as is not improbable, their warriors might, at the commencement of the struggle, march with the armies of Egypt. As the war proceeded, and as the ascendency of Sheth in the Delta became more and more decided, the motives of Israel for dissimulating his sympathies with the conquerors, would grow proportionately weaker. Therefore, every year Israel and Sheth would become more and more identified in interests, and one people (as they were originally of one stock), in the eyes of all Egypt.

In the meanwhile, the progress of events in the

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Delta was closely watched by the astute and illustrious king who reigned in Upper Egypt. It seems pretty certain that he constantly responded to the demands for aid, which were made upon him incessantly by the feeble representative of the now rapidly declining dynasty of the Xoite kings; and that he imitated the policy of his father towards it, though he discarded his vaunting insolence. City after city in the Delta had been placed by the Xoite king under the protection of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, until at the period now actually before us, when he himself had become the rightful heir of the Xoite throne, twelve cities only remained in the entire district; the rest were his already.

Vast numbers of the children of Israel would necessarily be among the inhabitants of the cities thus ceded to the dominion or protectorate of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. It is equally apparent, that a monarch in the whole of whose proceedings we have already traced so large an amount of political wisdom, would not at this time imperil his deep-laid plans for the annexation of the entire Delta to Egypt, by any rash interference with the ancient privileges of so important and powerful a member of its community as Israel, while his designs were yet incomplete, and especially while the assistance of a confederate like Sheth was at hand, so able to aid them in resisting such an aggression. It is, nevertheless, certain, from the necessities of the case, that a considerable amount of forced labour would be placed at his disposal by these concessions. The commencement of the chain of fortifications in his eighth year, is the monumental evidence of the truth of this surmise.

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But whatever his real intentions might be regarding Israel, this assuredly was not the period at which he openly avowed them. We have endeavoured to explain the motives for his dissimulation.

Meanwhile, SESOSTRIS would, doubtless, take the utmost advantage of the eleven years' peace, which, according to the monuments, befel the north-eastern frontier of Egypt between the tenth and twenty-first years of his reign, for the maturing of all his schemes for the annexation of the Delta. It would be indispensable for this purpose that he should acquire accurate information concerning the Canaanite settlers there, their privileges and immunities in Egypt, and their position in the country: likewise of the relations existing among themselves, and with their kindred on the other side of the Isthmus. The results of his inquiry we are in condition in some measure to estimate. The Hittites and the Zuzim in Egypt, who played so conspicuous a part in the wars of all his ancestors and in that on his own accession, have disappeared. Either they had fallen before the conquering arms of Sheth, or they had purchased the aid of Egypt at the price of their personal freedom and national distinctions. The Arvadite settlements were trading factories, the encouragement of which was essential to the prosperity of Egypt. The only party, therefore, in the dealing with which any difficulty presented itself, would be that of the Abrahamites. The vast numbers, great wealth, and overwhelming influence in the Delta of this race, would naturally awaken the anxious solicitude of so deep a politician as SESOSTRIS. We know from another

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authority that such was actually the case.* He would, on this account, spare no pains and omit no opportunity of acquiring all possible knowledge regarding them, their past history and their present circumstances. These inquiries would elicit the important fact, that the Abrahamites in Egypt belonged to two distinct septs. We are even doubtful that this fact had not been known during the war in the fifth of his reign. It seems to us probable that the twofold character of the government of Sheth, to which we detected an allusion in the record of that war,† refers to the coalition of Moab with Israel, rather than to the confederacy of Moab and Ammon. The Zuzim in Sheth were extirpated by Ammon.‡ It is perfectly analogous with this statement that Moab should attack the Zuzim that dwelt in Ham. Therefore, we conceive, it is, that Moab only, and not Ammon, is named in the hieroglyphics. The former only were the invaders of Egypt.

The fragile nature of the bond which united these two great septs of the Abrahamic family, would, likewise, be a point upon which SESOSTRIS would not fail to acquire full and accurate information. He would inevitably learn that they had originally sprung from two separate branches of the parent stem, and that since then, their pursuits, their habits, and, above all, their religions, had been altogether different. Israel had retained a large measure of the teaching of their common

* Exodus, i. 8, 9.

† See above, p. 473, "Both the kings of Sheth [*i.e.*, the two kings] are in battle array."

‡ Deut. ii. 19—21.

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parent regarding the nature of God, though latterly some compliance with the Egyptian ritual had prevailed among them. Sheth or Moab, on the other hand, had plunged headlong into the idolatry of the Canaanites whom they were extirpating. So important a difference as this would not fail to be improved by the subtle and wary politician who was now intriguing for the supremacy over all Egypt. Into this rent SESOSTRIS drove with vigour the wedge of his negociations. The successful result of them was recorded on the wall of Karnak, in the inscription the remains of which have now been examined by us. By an express treaty with the king of Moab himself, not only were the possessions of Moab in Egypt ceded to SESOSTRIS, but the bond of amity between the two nations was cemented and perpetuated by the fusion of their respective gods, and the union of their religions.

That Egypt paid to Sheth an equivalent for this concession is certain. It is equally certain that no hint at such a reciprocation would be written on the walls of a temple. This we have said already. Before finally leaving the point, we have merely to observe, that the name of SESOSTRIS does not occur anywhere in the mining district at the head of the Gulf of Suez, notwithstanding its frequency in every other part of Egypt. This omission certainly countenances the assumption that it might form part of the equivalent returned to Sheth for the cession of the twelve cities in Egypt.

Thus, we conceive, was effected the disruption of the alliance between Israel and Moab, which had inflicted upon the Xoite kingdom disasters utterly irreparable.

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The event took place, as we have seen, in the twenty-first year of the reign of SESOSTRIS.

That in this alliance the interests of Israel were faithlessly betrayed by Moab, is certain from the accompanying circumstances. It is, moreover, exactly in accordance with all that we know of the subsequent transactions between them. It appears to us that the fears of Balak, who wore the crown of Moab a century later than Shethsir, and the diabolical expedients by which he inveigled the children of Israel into the pollutions of his idolatry, in order that the anger of God might be kindled against them, were the suggestions of a guilty consciousness, that Israel had already suffered a deep wrong from Moab, and one very likely to bring down terrible national retribution upon the descendants of its perpetrators.* We submit, there is no extravagance in our conjecture, that it was this treaty, whereby, as Shethite settlers in Egypt, the Israelites were betrayed into bondage for three generations, which constituted the wrong, the consequences of which were dreaded by Balak.

Were the point a part of our present investigation, we should find in like manner, that in every recorded transaction of Israel with Moab, the latter had invariably acted the part of an enemy. They were sometimes at open war with them. At other times they tyrannized over them or betrayed them to their enemies, or allured them to idol-worship.† It was the perseverance of the Moabites in these hostile courses

* Num. xxii.—xxv. † *u. s.* Judges iii. 29; 1 Sam. xiv. 47, &c.

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towards Israel, which ultimately drew upon them national extermination by the sword of David.*

These considerations, we repeat, divest of all improbability our conjecture, that in the treaty of the twenty-first of SESOSTRIS, Israel, his privileges, and the personal freedom of his children, were basely betrayed into the hands of the Egyptians by Shethsir the king of Moab.

We must now recal to the recollections of our readers that which we have found in the Greek legends, and on the Egyptian monuments, regarding SESOSTRIS. We have noted the perfect accordance of these two traditions, that he was the greatest king that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt. The monumental evidence of his greatness is, as we have said, a paradox unparalleled in the history of any other country upon the face of the earth. SESOSTRIS built more temples, and other great public constructions, and executed more statues, obelisks, and works of art, than all the other kings of Egypt put together, during the nearly two thousand years that the monarchy lasted. Obviously, therefore, we cannot be mistaken in identifying this king with the SESOSTRIS of the Greeks. That all these works were executed, not by native Egyptians, but by persons in the condition of captives or prisoners of war, had been, as we know, a fundamental law of the monarchy from the first, and is expressly stated in all the Greek narratives to have been emphatically true of the works of SESOSTRIS. They were all built by the forced labours of the vast host of prisoners of war that he brought back to Egypt

* 2 Samuel viii. 2.

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on his return from the conquest of the world. We have now arrived at the point in which the two traditions utterly disagree. The wars of SESOSTRIS are more amply written upon the walls of his constructions than those of any other king that ever reigned in Egypt. We are, therefore, in condition to speak very distinctly concerning them. They are the most inconsiderable and trifling affairs that have been chronicled by any of the kings of Egypt. We much doubt that even the greatest of them, the battle of Pelusium, would have received any monumental notice, beyond that of two or three captives in dungeons, either in the temples of his father, or of any other of his predecessors or successors. Yet has this action of war, which we have shown to be insignificant both in itself and its consequences, been made by him the subject of not fewer than three stupendous battle-pieces; one of them dated as having been commenced more than thirty years after the occurrence. The still greater insignificance of his subsequent wars is sufficiently shown by this circumstance. The records of them on the north wall at Karnak amply confirm the indication. The Greek tradition, then, must in this particular be in error. It cannot have been by the labours of prisoners taken in foreign wars, that SESOSTRIS covered Egypt with temples and palaces. For in the great war of his reign he took no prisoners; and none of any consequence in any other war, by the testimony of his coeval monuments. And the monuments of Egypt are by no means given to errors in defect in such particulars.

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Having thus, we submit, very clearly shown that the Greek account of the hosts of prisoners of war, taken by SESOSTRIS in his foreign conquests, must be fabulous, the question that next requires an answer will be, Whence had he those troops of slaves, those armies of captives, whose forced labours must have been at his command, or it would have been impossible that the number of temples bearing his name, the remains of which are now in existence, could have been built in the course of one man's life? The answer to this question must be given in the words of an authority to whose testimony we have but sparingly appealed in the course of the present work, and which we only give on the present occasion, because of its absolute necessity, in order that the history of Egypt may be rendered intelligible:

"And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied and waxed exceedingly mighty; and the land was filled with them. Now there arose up a new king in Egypt, which knew not Joseph. And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities (magazines), Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew: and they were grieved because of

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the children of Israel. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour; and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour."*

Our recent publication † having relieved the present inquiry of the whole of that part of it which regards Israel alone, we have only to deal with those questions in it which directly relate to the history of Egypt. One of these, the chronology, will be more conveniently discussed afterwards. The other question appears to us to be, the part of Egypt which was the scene of the transactions related in the passage before us.

The answer with which we are prepared, is a complete and undeniable one. Israel dwelt in Goshen. We have already shown that Goshen is the Delta.‡ We are now in position to carry that evidence still further, and to prove that SESOSTRIS-RAMSES was the first king to annex the Delta to Egypt and to apportion out its surface to Egyptian possessors, as we have already inferred from the narrative of Herodotus.

We have already explained that the name of SESOSTRIS occurs everywhere without exception, in the very numerous mounds of ruins that cover this vast district, while the names of none of the Pharaohs of his race who preceded him, have ever been found in the Delta, save in the two isolated and widely distant points of Heliopolis and Alexandria. How is it possible to adduce

* Exod. i. 7—14. † Israel in Egypt, *u. s.* ‡ Above, pp. 98—100.

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stronger monumental evidence than this, that the whole Delta was first annexed to Egypt by SESOSTRIS-RAMSES? We are, nevertheless, in position still further to corroborate the fact. The name of one of the treasure-cities, or magazines, built by the children of Israel on their first being deprived of their immunities in Egypt, and treated as captives, was *Ramses*, the Upper Egyptian name of SESOSTRIS, as we find in the foregoing passage. From others in the same authority,* we discover that *Ramses*,† or Raamses, was likewise another name for Goshen, or the Delta. It has been most justly inferred from hence, that the city was the capital which gave its name to the province. The site of the former is, moreover, extant at the present day bearing its original name, and we have now seen too much of the immutability of these ancient names lightly to reject such an identity, for the convenience of any mere conjectural theory regarding the Exodus. When this event is before us, we shall find that we commit no error in doing so. The city of Ramses stood on about the centre of the extreme western border of the Delta. We strongly incline to the opinion that the palace named Ramses, in which SESOSTRIS held his interview with Shethsiri, was in this then new city, which must have been in progress at the time, and which was finished by the Israelites whom the perfidy of Sheth delivered captives into the hands of SESOSTRIS.

To complete the evidence on this point, we have only to call to mind the custom that had uniformly prevailed in Egypt from the foundation of the monarchy,

* Gen. xlvii. 11, &c. † Gesenius on the word "Ramses."

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for its kings to name after their own names all lands which they themselves reclaimed and added to the surface of Egypt; and it is not possible to conceive of stronger collateral evidence than we have adduced, that it was SESOSTRIS-RAMSES who first added the Delta to Egypt Proper, and by inevitable consequence that he was, therefore, the "new king that arose and knew not Joseph."

We have now fully explained the reasons which have decided us in identifying the treasure-city or magazine of Pithom * with Damietta, and that of Ramses with the mound of ruins that still bears the name. We may, however, further notice, that the whole vicinities of both had been the scenes of the wars for possession of the ancestors of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. Tanis, for example, and Pelusium, as well as Pithom itself on the eastern border, we find to have been frequently taken and retaken in the course of these conflicts. On the opposite border of the Delta, the possession of Hermopolis and Sais also seems to have been very feebly assured to the crown of Egypt. The building, therefore, of strong fortifications at the two weakest points on the opposite borders of his newly-acquired territories would be exactly the step suggested both by strategy and policy, and therefore the one which we might have anticipated in so wise and prudent a ruler as SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. This consideration may possibly prove something in favour of the truth of our identification of the sites of these two cities.

How SESOSTRIS-RAMSES obtained the undisputed sovereignty over the Delta, is a point which, being no-

* Above, pp. 412, *seq.*

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where expressly stated in any of the sources of the knowledge of the history of Egypt, it only remains for us to endeavour, by a close collation of the antecedents and consequents of his reign, to ascertain by conjecture. We find that his second successor on the throne of Egypt was a queen, regnant in her own right, named THOUORIS. Her husband survived her for a very long period, though the works of her reign are by no means those either of a short or an inglorious one. His name, also, is remarkably distinguished from those of all his predecessors and followers on the Theban throne, by the absence of all titles compounded of the name of Amun, and by ostentatiously embodying the warmth of the bearer's devotion to Phtha of Memphis and to Ra-Athom of Heliopolis. In these small circumstances is written the history of the succession of SESOSTRIS to the Xoite throne. The death of the last of these kings had, in all probability, taken place untimely. He had left his kingdom deplorably dismembered, and just on the point of falling to pieces; and still more deplorable, the rightful heir to this throne was but an infant of days. Under these perplexing circumstances the aid of SESOSTRIS was once again demanded by the estates of Lower Egypt. The mode of solving them was that which had already received the sanction of universal prescription, given by the entire line of his ancestry from the very foundation of the monarchy. He married the infant heir of the Xoite throne to his eldest child, a daughter now of some age, and, probably, like so many of the princesses of Egypt, devoted to religion. The conditions upon which this illustrious

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lady consented to so unequal a match in point of age, seem to have been, that she should at present exercise sovereign power in the Delta as the viceregent of the king, her father, and in right of her infant husband; and, also, that under certain contingencies she and her husband should succeed her father, SESOSTRIS, on the throne of all Egypt. The condition was fulfilled, the contingencies occurred. The precise year in which the last Xoite king died, and in which this marriage took place, we have no means of ascertaining. It must have been at some brief period previous to the twenty-first of SESOSTRIS. A very few years afterwards we find in the Bible history that she was irresponsibly viceregent over the Delta at Heliopolis. For she set at nought her father's edict regarding the male children of Israel, and saved the second son of Amram and Jochebed. Queen THOUORIS was in effect the daughter of Pharaoh who became the adopted mother of Moses. The same queen, with her husband, also sat upon the Theban throne, on the death of her brother, the son of SESOSTRIS. These we believe to be the circumstances which brought the entire Delta, together with all that ever had been called Egypt, under the sceptre of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. The loosing of the knot of these intricate arrangements strongly illustrates the value, to the history of Egypt, of the few brief notices regarding it, embodied in the inspired text.

The disastrous posture of affairs in the Delta is vividly set forth in the same inspired narrative. The Xoite kingdom had sunk through sheer exhaustion. The aborigines of the country were fast disappearing

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before the swarming myriads of cattle feeders, that roved over its grassy plains. The cities had, probably, but few inhabitants, and they poor both in wealth and influence. These, also, were in the hands of the Israelites. We have already seen, that had not SESOSTRIS-RAMSES interfered, an Abrahamic dynasty of kings would have reigned in the Delta, which would thenceforward have ceased to be Egypt, and have become an appendage of the land of Canaan. It was, however, otherwise ordained.

The treaty of the twenty-first year of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES extinguished the last trace of the Xoite kingdom upon the soil of Egypt. According to the lists, it had consisted of 76 kings, and lasted for 484 years.* If its commencement dated from the expulsion of ASSES from Memphis, its actual duration could not have exceeded 270 years. We know nothing, however, of the condition of Egypt under the Aphophean Pharaohs, so that the builders of Xois may have been an independent and distinct line of kings in their times. We have endeavoured to explain the circumstances which have so nearly succeeded in obliterating all traces of this dynasty from the surface of Egypt. The names of the Xoite kings have, we believe, never been found but in the Delta, and there only in a few very rare instances, on broken fragments of stones. All the monuments of their reigns were studiously defaced and destroyed by the fanaticism of their conquerors. Even SESOSTRIS himself was not in a position to withstand the strong religious prejudices of his people upon this point, what-

* Above, p. 48.

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ever his private sentiments may have been. One of the stipulations of his final treaty with Sheth was, as we have seen, the destruction of the Xoite temples.

The chronology of the treaty which seems to bear so weightily upon the histories, both of Egypt and Israel, we must now endeavour to ascertain. We have found elsewhere,* that the fall of Memphis took place when Israel had been in Egypt for 70 years. We add to this number the 205 years of the 18th dynasty.† The reign of RAMSES, 1½ years, that of SETHOS 55 years,‡ with the further addition of the 16 years of the sole reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, it will follow that the 21st year of this monarch coincides with the 346th year of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, and from this year we date the formal commencement of the bondage of this people.

We are now in condition to state fully and clearly the conclusion at which we have arrived. SESOSTRIS was the king that knew not Joseph; and it was by the forced labours of the captive Israelites, that he covered Egypt with palaces and temples, more in number and extent than those of all the kings that reigned before and after him put together. So far as our present knowledge of the remains of Ancient Egypt enable us to judge, the Greek tradition regarding him was literally true. He built a temple in every city in Egypt. How much is implied in this, may be gathered from the circumstance, that the number of cities in Egypt was vaguely computed by the same authority at 30,000. Without insisting upon this or any other par-

* Above, p. 120. † *Ibid.* p. 370. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 428.

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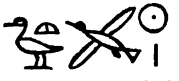
ticular, it may be generally stated, without fear of contradiction, that it would have been impossible for any king of Egypt to have executed in the course of his lifetime the number of monuments now actually in existence, bearing the name of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, without the occurrence of the very peculiar circumstances which the Scripture narrative ascribes to the "new king that arose and that knew not Joseph."

The further particulars embodied in the same narrative have but a collateral bearing upon the history of Egypt, and, therefore, must be dismissed with but a brief notice here.

Aaron was born in the 347th year of the sojourn in Egypt, to Amram and Jochebed, and therefore* one year after the date of the final treaty with Sheth. As no concealment of his birth was necessary, we infer that the ultimate measures for the repression of the numbers of Israel had not then been taken.

The great prolificness of the Israelitish women, notwithstanding the hardships to which they were subjected, suggested to their oppressors an expedient, which, as is well known, was defeated by the conscientious scruples of the priestesses presiding over the art of midwifery in Egypt. The name of one of them,  *Shiprah*, is clearly that of a Heliopolitan woman. All the branches of the healing art were rigidly confined in Ancient Egypt to the ministers of the gods who presided over them. Shiprah and Puah ministered in the temple of the goddess Tenu or Tamar, who, as we have said, was the Lucina

* Exod. vii. 7.

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of the Egyptians. They were of high rank, presiding over all the midwives of Egypt, to whom they were instructed by Pharaoh, to give directions to strangle at the birth all the male Hebrew children.*

The failure of this expedient suggested to the oppressors of Israel, another of a still more odious character. The male children were to be thrown into the river, as a sacrifice, doubtless to Nu, the god of water. This was a mode of human sacrifice, for the existence of which in Ancient Egypt we have the sanction of all the Greek authorities. We give it here, as another proof in confirmation of our often-repeated conviction, that human sacrifices always formed an essential part of the ritual of this idolatry.

Moses was born in the 350th year of the sojourn.† The very familiar circumstance to all readers, of his birth and concealment, shows that the infanticidal edict had been promulgated in the interval between it and the birth of Aaron. The bearings of the equally well-known narrative of his adoption by Queen THOUORIS, the daughter of SESOSTRIS, and at this time viceregent in the Delta, will be more conveniently discussed when her history and that of her husband are before us.‡

SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, then, was the oppressor of the children of Israel. Of this fact it is impossible to doubt. Nevertheless, our present undertaking compels us to yield our unequivocal assent to the character of him given by the Greek tradition; he was the greatest,

* Exod. i. 15—21. These circumstances are all required to render the narrative intelligible.

† Exod. vii. 7. ‡ Exod. ii. 1—10.

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the wisest and the best king that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt. The labours of his myriads of captives were in the first place directed to the completion of a work of utility, far surpassing those of the most renowned of his predecessors, and scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of mankind upon the earth hitherto. The district between Memphis and the sea, comprehended an area of 5000 square miles, which had hitherto, as we have often remarked, been an open and marshy champaign, fitted only for the depasturing of flocks and herds, and the breeding of horses; pursuits utterly alien to the habits and religious prejudices of his subjects. Over the whole of this vast surface SESOSTRIS, by the forced labours of the Israelites, diffused a minute and intricate network of channels of irrigation of all sizes, connecting together in innumerable places the several branches of the Nile that flowed through it. By these stupendous works, he converted the Delta into one vast garden, fitted everywhere for the growth of the "wheat, and the barley, and the flax, the cucumbers, and the melons, the leeks, the onions, and the garlick," for which Egypt has always been celebrated. The land thus reclaimed he portioned out in blocks to his own subjects.

The settlement of this new country afforded a convenient occasion for the revision of the laws of the monarchy, in regard to the tenure of lands generally. Of this occasion SESOSTRIS had the wisdom to take advantage, and seems, by the account of Herodotus and Diodorus, to have made very extensive reforms in this branch of the laws of Egypt. It appears, moreover,

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from the same narrative, that the regulations introduced by Joseph under APHOPHIS, for the division of the produce of the soil, were likewise the law of Egypt in the days of SESOSTRIS, and that he did not make any change in them. The king's income continued to be a tax upon the produce of the surface of Egypt.*

In the next benefaction to Egypt, of which SESOSTRIS was the author, we shall find once more that this great king knew Joseph well, as a wise law-giver, though he knew him not, as to the privileges and immunities he had secured to his own people in the land. He carried vigorously forward in the reclaimed district the building of cities, and the location of men in fixed habitations; a needful measure for the civilization of any country, which Joseph also had begun. Upon the mounds which, as we have already seen, he threw up to protect the existing cities from the annual overflow, he rebuilt them in some cases. He likewise built many new cities in the Delta, as well as that of Ramses.

That the rest of Egypt and its dependencies partook to the same extent of the blessings of the reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, cannot be doubted, though the gorgeous temples and palaces, which he constructed in every part of Egypt, constitute the only remaining evidence of it. The description of the remains of the chief of them we have already given. The temple of Abydos is the only one that need now be noticed. It was of considerable extent and magnificence, and dedicated to Osiris. The genealogical table on its walls, to which we have made such abundant reference, ter-

* Herod. ii. 109.

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minates, of course, with the name of the builder of the temple. His name in Lower Egypt, unsurcharged, is the last in the middle plane (B); for SESOSTRIS was at that time merely the representative of the Upper Egyptian line of Pharaohs; but afterwards, when the entire territory of the Xoite kingdom became his, he was, *de facto*, the representative both of the Lower Egyptian Pharaohs in plane A, and of the Upper Egyptians in plane B. Therefore it is that repetitions of his full name in both Egypts occupy the whole of plane C.

The defensive works on the eastern frontier of Egypt were, doubtless, also completed by the labours of the captive Israelites; so that in everything SESOSTRIS was the great benefactor of his country. Besides enormously increasing its internal resources, he rendered it impregnable to its foreign enemies, thereby removing all fear of invasion.

It is no unusual occurrence in the annals of great kings, and of the most stupendous works of magnificence and utility, that the wisest, and at the same time the most beneficent and mild, exercise of sway over their subjects, should, nevertheless, consist with very cruel edicts and grievous acts of tyranny against some conquered district, or some hapless and degraded race, within the bounds of their own dominions. Such appears to have been the case with SESOSTRIS-RAMSES.

This greatest of the kings of Egypt had two queens, named *Nofre-ari* and *Isi-nofre.* It is

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generally assumed that the 27 youths, represented together with his son and successor in one of the halls of the Memnonium, are all likewise his sons. It is, however, more probable that they were the *Heteri* of his son and heir. According to the Greek tradition, he had four sons only. He had, likewise, daughters, one of whom we assume to have been THOUORIS, his viceregent in the Delta, and afterwards his successor to the throne of Egypt.

The following is a list of the dated monuments of the reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES:

	Years of Sesostris.
Two papyri at Turin	3 4
1st Tablet at Silsili (on the occasion of quarrying stone)	4
1st war with Sheth (on his accession)	5
Fortification of the eastern border	8
2nd war with Sheth (Sallier, Karnak)	9
War with Lower Arvad (Karnak, Nahr-el-Kelb) ...	10
Papyrus at Turin (describing a ceremony)	14
Pacification with Sheth	21
2nd quarry-mark at Silsili	30
3rd „ „	34
Abou-Simbel begun	35
4th quarry-mark at Silsili	37
Abou-Simbel finished	38
5th quarry-mark at Silsili	40
6th „ „	44
Funeral tablet (Museo de Bei Arti, Florence) ...	62
„ (British Museum)	66

A glance at this table will suffice to show that the Greek tradition has rightly stated that the wars of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES took place at the beginning of his

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reign, and that his great constructions were the works of his later years.

The reign of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES is variously stated in the different copies of the lists, to have lasted for 61, 66, and 68 years.

The tomb of this illustrious monarch is in the Biban-el-Malook.* It has been early opened, and from some unexplained cause, has been entirely choked up with rubbish. The legible characters at its entrance prove that he began his tomb on his accession (as we have supposed of the kings of Egypt generally), for his first ring is unsurcharged. A little further in, the name is written complete, which also proves the truth of the assumption, that both belonged to the same individual.

* Wilkinson, No. 7.

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CHAPTER IX.

AMENEPHTHIS; HIS SHORT REIGN AND FEW MONUMENTS.—HIS QUEEN.—SETHOS II. HIS SON, THOUORIS, AND SIPHTHA, ALL CO-REGENT.—EVIDENCE OF THIS.—THEIR TOMBS.—THOUORIS DAUGHTER OF SESOSTRIS.—MARRIED, AT MATURE AGE, TO SIPHTHA, THE INFANT KING OF XOIS.—THE FOSTER-MOTHER OF MOSES.—VICE-REGENT IN THE DELTA, UNTIL THE DEATH OF AMENEPHTHIS.—REFUSAL OF MOSES TO BE CALLED HER SON.—SHE WAS THEN QUEEN OF EGYPT.—ADOPTS, IN CONSEQUENCE, SETHOS II., SON OF AMENEPHTHIS.—MOSES FLEES TO MIDIAN.—SIPHTHA RULES THE DELTA.—THOUORIS AT THEBES.—DEATH OF SIPHTHA.—RETURN OF MOSES.—SETHOS II.; HIS WRETCHED CHARACTER.—REFUSES TO OBEY THE GOD OF THE HEBREWS.—THE TEN PLAGUES.—THE DEATH OF THE SON OF SETHOS WITH THE FIRST-BORN.—THE EXODUS.—ITS CONSEQUENCES TO EGYPT.—SETHOS II. PERISHED IN THE RED SEA.—CHRONOLOGY.—19TH DYNASTY.—CONCLUSION.

AMENEPHTHIS.

THE successor of RAMSES, or RAMPSES, in the lists, is named AMENEPHTHIS. The successor of RAMSES on the monuments (namely, in the processions of the statues of defunct kings, at the Ramesseum and Medinet Abou* in Western Thebes) is his son, who, on his accession, wrote his royal name thus, *amn-ra-mh-ha pth-mu-meh-htp-ho*, i.e., first ring, "whose soul is absorbed by Amun-Ra,"

* As our readers are aware, we are, from henceforth, deprived of the guidance of the Tablet of Abydos.

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second ring, "absorbed by Phtha; whose countenance is placid through righteousness."

There cannot be a doubt that this is the name which has been hellenized into AMENEPHTHIS.*

* In this name the ram represents *h*, as in the name of *Noh*, or Noah, where it interchanges with (*Alphabet*, No. 49). The group is by no means uncommon in mythic texts of later times. It alternates with two other groups without any appreciable variation in the sense. All three initials are frequently interpreted by the same phonetic, the censer, to which we have already assigned the power of *b* or *u*, (*Alphabet*, 31). Champollion rightly interpreted all the three groups to mean "soul," and supposed that they were all transcriptions of the word βαι, which according to Horapollo (*Hieroglyphica*, l. 1. h. 7). meant "life" "soul" (ψυχη), in ancient Egyptian. No such word, however, is to be found in the Coptic texts. The corresponding sense is expressed there by the word ⲁϩⲏ: but Champollion, with much sagacity, conjectured, that this word, affected by the definite article (ⲡⲁϩⲏ), might be the probable original of the transcription in Greek letters of Horapollo. If this be correct (and we see not how it is to be denied) the seeming approximation of the groups, before us, to βαι (through the use of the censer and ram, as *b* in Greek and Roman proper names) is palpably delusive. All the three groups have initials (in some cases interpreted), which denote the first letter of the word, and not a mere grammatical prefix. Champollion was, nevertheless, right in the meaning. The Coptic word ⲁϩⲏ is the transcription, in Græco-Egyptian characters, of a group which in the older texts was identical, both in sound and meaning, with the word חי *hhai*, "life." The resemblance between ⲁϩⲏ and חי is as close as their identity of meaning is obvious. The group, therefore, reads *hi*, and the ram here has the same sound as we have already assigned to it in the mythic name of Noah (vol. i. p. 339, &c.). The identity of Chnouphis, the water-god, with Noah deified, is fully established by this further proof that the ram represents the sound *h*. This must be our apology for going at length into these particulars.

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The monumental history of the reign of AMENEPHTHIS is scanty and but of little interest. He has inscribed his name on the lotus columns of the temple of Amun-Rakoti, at Alexandria, which was begun by ARMAIS.* His name is, likewise, written in large characters on the rocky walls of the vast soffit, in which stands the pyramid of CHEPHRENES, at Ghizeh. He also dedicated, at the quarries of Djebel-e-Tayr in Middle Egypt, a little speos to "Phtha administering justice in the palaces of the south," to Hathor (the Egyptian Venus), to Amun-Ra, and to other divinities. It is small but neatly executed. The reliefs are coloured, the tints are yet visible. We believe it to be the only construction remaining in Egypt, which AMENEPHTHIS began and completed.

The name of AMENEPHTHIS appears likewise on one or two columns of the last hall of the palace of Luxor in Eastern Thebes. He seems to have made some trifling additions to it. It is read also at El Asasif, in Western Thebes, at the Ramessæum, and posthumously at Medinet Abou. At the quarries of Djebel Silsili, two tablets bear date of the second year of his reign, and a third, the date of which is effaced, commemorates the commencement of quarrying stones for a palace of AMENEPHTHIS at Thebes. No trace of it, however, is to be found, and most probably the stones never reached Thebes. His reign is variously stated in the lists to have lasted for 20, 19, 40, and 8 years. The monuments do not extend beyond it 4 years.

The tomb of AMENEPHTHIS is close to that of his

* Above, p. 322.

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father, in one of the branches of the valley of Biban-el-Malook. It is of noble design, but only commenced. The inscriptions do not extend beyond the inclined corridor.

These monumental indications of a short reign are so clear, that they appear to us far to overbalance the very equivocal evidence of the lists; much more any convenience of synchronism with astronomical eras, which may have induced others to assign to AMENEPHTHIS a reign of 20 years and upwards.*

One of the tablets at Djebel Silsili has preserved the name of the queen of AMENEPHTHIS, *isi-nfr*, and the fact that he had three sons, the eldest of whom was also his successor to the throne of Egypt.

QUEEN THOUORIS AND SI-PHTHA HER HUSBAND. AMENEMNES, OR SETHOS II.

The hieroglyphic name of the son of AMENEPHTHIS stands thus; *i.e.*, Lower Egypt, *rois-chru-ra meh-n-amn*, "sun vigilant over the creations, full of Amun." Upper Egypt, *Setei meh-n-Phtha*, "SETHOS absorbed in [or full of] Phtha." The name in the lists, AMENEMNES, is the last title in the L. E. ring; *meh-n-amn*, pronounced *Amun mehn*, for the purpose, doubtless, of placing the divine name first. This epithet was taken because the first in the upper ring, SETHOS, had already been appropriated. A very great difficulty in the succession meets us in considering the monumental records of this king.

* Lepsius, Einl. p. 331.

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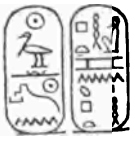
A queen and her husband make their appearance as co-regent with him. Her name is thus written: i.e., *tha-rois*, "she who is vigilant," which there can scarcely be a doubt is the name of the successor of AMENEPHTHIS, which is written in the lists, THOUORIS.* The name of her husband is also preserved upon the monuments. It is written thus:  but that of his wife is entered in the lists. This is in exact accordance with the universal custom of Ancient Egypt. The husband of a queen regnant took the name of his wife in all public records. The husband's name reads *ra-bsh stp-n-ra* (*pth-mn si-phtha*), "shining sun, proved by the sun," first ring; "absorbed in Phtha, the son of Phtha," second ring. The names neither of queen THOUORIS nor her husband appear in the hieroglyphic genealogies, nor in any other cotemporary succession. Yet are both names inscribed on a tolerably extensive range of monuments. One of them is in the palace at Gournou, where two tablets are still extant, on both of which the husband SIPHTHA pays divine honours to SETHOS I. and his son SESOSTRIS-RAMSES, as to their ancestors. Their tomb also at the Biban-el-Malook is very

* The name in the lists is the last in the 19th dynasty. It is made into that of a king, and has a note appended to it, which curiously illustrates the mode in which the Alexandrian philosophers wrote history. Their chronological computations made the era of THOUORIS to correspond with that of the Trojan war. Now Homer says, that the king of Thebes who entertained Menelaus was named Polybus (*Odys.* iv. 126): *ergo*, THOUORIS is Polybus. If the word THOUORIS is Egyptian, it is the name of a woman.

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spacious, and highly and elaborately decorated throughout, the unerring proof of a long, quiet reign.

We have now collected the materials. The history we have deduced from them has already been given briefly by anticipation, in our account of the reign of SESOSTRIS. It will require to be more fully considered here.

The circumstance, that AMENEPHTHIS survived his father and predecessor for a short time only, renders it probable that he died young. Such seems to have been the case. His son and successor was an infant, born, in all probability, after his father's accession. During his nonage, therefore, the government of Egypt must, of necessity, have been confided to a regency. In selecting the regent, AMENEPHTHIS (supposing him not to have died a violent death), or the estates of Egypt, would naturally look to the other members of the family of SESOSTRIS, and to a daughter rather than a son, because thereby the chances of an usurpation would be diminished. THOUORIS, therefore, was the daughter of RAMSES; and she and her husband exercised the sovereignty in Egypt during the minority of SETHOS II., their nephew. The arrangement appears to have been satisfactory, not only to Egypt, but to their ward also. The erasures which appear on the monuments of Egypt under similar circumstances at a former period* do not occur in this instance. SETHOS and his guardians have left no monumental record of their quarrels. The name of the rightful monarch was inscribed on all the great public works. His guardians wrote theirs

* Above, p. 193, &c.

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only in their tombs, and on the commemorations of their acts of private devotion.

The monumental evidence that AMENEMNES, or SETHOS II., and queen THOUORIS, with SIPHTHA her husband, were all living and reigning at the same time, is derived from their tombs, and appears to us to be quite conclusive. Their excavations are adjacent to each other in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. That of SETHOS II. (we adopt the name given him by others, in order to avoid confusion) is a cave of considerable extent.* It pierces the mountain to the depth of 236 feet. The walls, however, both of the halls and corridors, are left unfinished in various stages. The reliefs and inscriptions at the entrance are complete, and in the highest style of Egyptian art; but the first hall has been merely quarried out roughly. The second corridor, in like manner, is begun, and the stuccoing of the walls has proceeded so far, that the paintings are traced, and some of them completed. Then once again the hall that follows is a mere hole in the rock, roughed out by the quarrymen. This strange alternation characterizes the whole tomb. In the last hall, which is in the same state of incompleteness, are the fragments of the king's sarcophagus in red granite. When perfect, it must have surpassed, as a work of art, any monument of Ancient Egypt now in existence. It has been covered with reliefs and inscriptions very beautifully designed and most elaborately finished. It must have occupied the artists by whom it was executed for many years. Precisely the same indication is like-

* No. 15, Wilkinson.

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wise afforded by the state of the tomb of this king. Notwithstanding its imperfect condition, so extensive an excavation must have been the work of many years. Now our readers are well aware that all further work of every description in these tombs ceased the moment the king died. It follows, therefore, inevitably, that SETHOS II. was for many years king of Egypt.

Nothing can be more complete than the contrast to this, which is presented by the tomb of queen THOUORIS, and her husband SIPHTHA.* In extent of design, it scarcely yields to the largest in the valley. Its total length is 363 feet. In extreme beauty and delicacy of execution, it has been superior to all of them. There is a chamber in it especially deserving of notice. The walls are covered with reliefs exquisitely designed and coloured, representing a vast collection of gold, silver, and porphyry jars and vases, of very elegant shapes. Perhaps nowhere else in Egypt will so striking an example be found of the close, intense labour of finish applied to their designs by these ancient artists. Many of them must have worked, and for many years, to complete this gorgeous chamber.

The most remarkable circumstance connected with this tomb, and one to which there is scarcely a parallel elsewhere in the valley or in Egypt, has yet to be related. The names and effigies of its founders have been twice stuccoed over. SETHOS II. was the first to commit this impiety; for his name is written on the lowest layer of stucco. Now we know that the sepulture of the king always took place as soon as the

* No. 14, Wilkinson.

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embalming of his mummy was finished, and then the tomb was finally closed. SETHOS II., therefore, must have been reigning cotemporarily with THOUORIS and SIPHTHA, and have survived both of them. Had they reigned in succession, he could not have before excavated his own tomb as king of Egypt. Had the thought of this usurpation occurred to him long after, when the founders had been dead many years, the tomb of THOUORIS would then assuredly have been closed and inaccessible to him. We can therefore conceive of no other alternative than that they reigned cotemporarily, according to our arrangement, and that SETHOS was the survivor of the whole.

Having thus, we submit, established the fact of this co-regency, it remains for us to explain the circumstances under which it occurred.

We have repeatedly found much history written in the names of the kings of Egypt. That of the husband of THOUORIS is one of them. The titles in it make mention only of the gods of Memphis and Heliopolis. Assuredly, therefore, their sovereignty had, in the first instance, some especial connection with Lower Egypt. For this circumstance we shall find the solution on the monuments, and in the Mosaic narrative. SIPHTHA was the last of the Xoite kings. He was but an infant when his father died, and he succeeded to the throne. SESOSTRIS, the king of Upper Egypt, who had been, as we have seen, his father's ally, married to this infant his daughter THOUORIS, who was then at mature age. By this means, the whole of the Delta was placed under his protection, and virtually annexed to his domi-

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nions. THOUORIS had been previously devoted to the service of the gods in an especial manner, according to the prevailing custom with the princesses of Egypt.* The sincerity of her devotion is evidenced by all the monuments of her reign. She seems, by the reliefs on her tomb, to have been a priestess of Hathor and Neith, the two great primeval goddesses. The heartless arrangement, whereby she was at mature age espoused to an infant of days, to whom, in all probability, she might, in the ordinary course of nature, have given birth but a month or two before, was brought about by the deep craft and utterly reckless policy of her father. He endeavoured to compensate her, by investing her with a high vice-regal power in the Delta. The frequent allusions to the vicegerents of the authority of SESOSTRIS, which we noticed in his final treaty with Sheth,† may, we conceive, be probably enough assumed to refer to the rule of the Xoite Pharaohs, now embodied in THOUORIS his daughter, as the queen of the last of them.

In the first-recorded instance of the exercise of sovereign power in the Delta by THOUORIS, our history once more steps forth from the stern array of the shadows of kings and times, whose memories have long since departed, and links itself with the destinies of the whole human race, and with the living sympathies of all times. Jochebed, the mother of Moses, was, most probably, one of the domestic slaves in the palace

* She was one of the παλλάδες, or πάλλακες, of the Greek historians. See Herod. i. 84, &c.

† Above, p. 517, &c.

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of THOUORIS and SIPHTHA at Heliopolis. She was in this capacity cognizant of the queen's movements, and therefore placed the basket, which contained her infant son, near the quay or terrace, to which the queen would that day be called by some religious ceremony to descend to the river's edge for the performance of an ablution. How THOUORIS at once obeyed the promptings of nature, and of nature's God, within her, and how, as a queen, and in her own right, she cast aside and set at nought the infanticidal edict of her father, and adopted the outcast as her own child, we have elsewhere explained, and the details of the history are far too well known to need repetition. The inspired narrative of these events has solved, we submit, completely, another of the formidable difficulties which beset the monumental history of Egypt. THOUORIS, the daughter of Pharaoh SESOSTRIS, exercised the regal power in the Delta, in right of her infant husband SIPHTHA, during all the later years of the reign of her father, and also through that of her brother AMENEPHTHIS. For these reasons, as well as for those others we have already enumerated, on the death of the latter, she and her husband were made co-regent in all Egypt, with his infant son SETHOS II., and likewise the child's guardians.

An interval of forty years is interposed by the inspired narrative, between the adoption of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter, and the next event recorded on its unerring authority. Its history must, therefore, be written from the monuments, and vague and general as their indications may at first sight appear, they are,

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nevertheless, by no means wanting either in precision or in importance.

The few and inconsiderable remains in Egypt of the short reign of AMENEPHTHIS, when compared to those of his father, convey, nevertheless, a fact regarding both himself and his co-regents in Egypt in the highest degree creditable to them. The children of Israel were still in captivity when AMENEPHTHIS succeeded to the throne; for the death of SESOSTRIS took place in the 392nd year of the sojourn, according to our computation. He had, therefore, at his command the whole amount of forced labour, with which the continually increasing myriads of Israel could furnish him. We have elsewhere accounted for the remarkable fact, that he must have forborne to avail himself of it, to anything like the same extent, by ascribing it to the influence over him obtained by his sister, the queen THOUORIS.* A fuller and closer examination of the whole question, has entirely confirmed this conviction. The whole of the circumstances under which THOUORIS had been invested with sovereign power in the Delta, would inevitably tend to work in her a distaste for the subtle and cruel policy of her father, and a leaning towards the victims of his duplicity. Her own necessarily barren espousals, and the cruel mockery thereby inflicted upon all her womanly instincts, would not fail to rankle deeply within her. The first exhibition of this feeling was her adoption of the outcast Moses. Another step in the same direction

* Israel in Egypt, *u. s.*

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she would likewise not fail to take, if human nature was the same then as now. Her infant husband would awaken in her bosom the cares, the solicitudes, the affections of a mother. She would love both the children of her adoption with an earnest depth of affection, which would identify their interests, their hopes, and their family traditions with herself. Doubtless, during the lifetime of her father, she had, to the extent of her power, mitigated the horrors of the captivity to the Israelites, in other instances besides those on record; thereby subserving instrumentally the Divine purpose, to bring to nought the designs of their enemies. Her affection for her husband, of which the monuments afford many unequivocal instances, and for the traditions of his family, would doubtless prompt her to such a course. This influence appears unequivocally at the death of her father, in the paucity of the monuments both of her brother AMENEPHTHIS, and, as we shall afterwards find, of her nephew SETHOS II.

The period at which the death of AMENEPHTHIS took place, must now be considered. We have already noticed the extreme vagueness of the lists, in regard of the duration of his reign. The knowledge we have now acquired of the customs of Egypt would prompt us to ascribe such uncertainties to doubts regarding the event in which the reign began, rather than as to the time when it ended. The practice so universally prevalent with all the Pharaohs, of associating their successors with them on the throne, during their lifetime, and the utter absence of all uniformity as to the time when this association took place, will satis-

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factorily account for the present, and for other similar discrepancies. It was probably not easy to discover from the annals of Egypt, the year of his actual accession. The very advanced age likewise at which SESOSTRIS must have died, renders it pretty certain, that his son and successor had been for many years associated with him on the throne, when this event took place. For these reasons, which appear to us conclusive, we assume that, whatever may have been the time during which AMENEPHTHIS was king of Egypt, he survived his father for two years only. His death, therefore, took place in or about the 394th year of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt. At this epoch, the inspired narrative again returns to our assistance.

Moses, at the new epoch of this resumption, is declared to have been full forty years old.* Our computation makes him to have been forty-four years old, which is far more probable than the Rabbinical figment so generally adopted, which divides his whole life into into three exactly equal portions.†

The first event narrated concerning this eminent personage, at the time now before us, "when he was come to years," is one directly bearing upon the history of Egypt. He refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.‡ It may be remembered that we have already ascertained that another event, which we also knew only upon the same authority, proved, neverthe-

* See Acts vii. 23.

† Forty years in Egypt, forty years in Midian, and forty years in the desert.

‡ Hebrews xi. 24.

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less, by the testimony of the monuments, to be literally true; and also to have a very important bearing upon the history of Egypt. We believe this to be the case in the present instance also, and that the visit of Abraham to Egypt did not exercise a stronger influence upon the after destiny of the monarchy, than did the refusal of Moses to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. This act, therefore cannot, if the account of it be true, have been done in a corner. It was a solemn overt act, in the face of all Egypt, on the occasion of some great historical occurrence. Now we have seen, that immediately on the death of AMENEPHTHIS, THOUORIS and her husband became sovereign in all Egypt, as well as SETHOS II. This, then, we believe to have been the occasion on which the refusal of Moses took place. In all probability, the crown of Egypt was conferred unconditionally upon THOUORIS on the death of her brother, when she immediately proposed to make Moses her co-regent and successor. She was now advanced in years, very far beyond all hope of a family of her own. Nothing, therefore, was more natural, than her proposal publicly to recognize as her son, the man whom for forty years she had cherished with a mother's love. This view of the case brings out the refusal of Moses in its full proportions, as the act of high principle, which his history everywhere infers it to have been.

It would be in consequence of this refusal that THOUORIS, doubtless with the consent of SIPHTHA her husband, went to Thebes, where she not only adopted the infant son of AMENEPHTHIS as her heir, but had

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him at once crowned king, though he was not yet a year old. A procedure for which an inquiry after the history of Egypt has furnished us with many precedents. We can even discern in the proposal itself, and in the little insight which the sacred history and the monuments have given us into the character of this illustrious queen, a bolder conception. She saw and appreciated the high mental qualities and consummate wisdom of her adopted son. She perceived in him capabilities for the accomplishment of lofty designs, which she knew to be wanting in her husband SIPHTHA. There is no improbability in the conjecture, that in Moses she hoped to see the revival of the Aphophean line of Pharaohs (through his marriage probably with a sister of SIPHTHA)* and of the Aphophean policy, so that Israel and Egypt should be one people. Such were probably the designs of Pharaoh's daughter, in proposing the crown of Egypt to Moses. Such, however, was not the design of the God of Moses and of Israel, and therefore her purpose came to nothing.

We may well suppose that this disappointment would be deeply felt by the aged queen. It may have been in consequence of it that she, from thenceforth to the time of her death, resided at Thebes; leaving to her husband the administration of the affairs of the Delta, which seems to have been all of which he was capable. We are persuaded, also, that it was the same mistrust of his capacity, which prompted her to conclude the extraordinary arrangement, which appears on the monu-

* Moses, it will be remembered, was unmarried at this time.

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ments of this epoch. All public acts and constructions were carried on under the name of her nephew. Her own name and that of her husband appear nowhere save in their acts of private devotion, principally addressed to their ancestry of the Theban line, and in their tombs. It was, we repeat it, the incapacity of SIPHTHA as a governor, and her consciousness of that incapacity, that alone can, in our judgment, account for this extraordinary arrangement.

That a character so exalted as that of THOUORIS would not be betrayed by this disappointment into the neglect of the duties incumbent upon her, we might have anticipated. We are able to deduce but one instance of her care for the education of her nephew; but this is, for its epoch, a remarkable one. She provided for him books and, doubtless, instruction in the art of reading them. A staff of scribes was appointed to write for the young king histories of the exploits of his ancestors, and stories or romances inculcating the fear of the gods. The tomb of one of these scribes was happily discovered, some years ago, at Thebes, and in it were deposited the books he had written for SETHOS II. We have already twice quoted from their most interesting contents.* If, then, SETHOS II. failed in becoming a wise and great king, it was through no fault of his tutors and guardians.

Queen THOUORIS appears to have divided her time at Thebes between the education of her nephew and her acts of devotion, the principal of which was the decoration of her own and husband's tomb. According

* Above, pp. 91, 483.

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to the lists she survived this disappointment only seven years.*

The event next in order, with which we are acquainted, is once more recorded in the books of Moses.† Immediately on his refusal to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, "Moses went down unto his brethren, and looked at their burdens." The expression here is another confirmation of the justice of our estimate of the character of THOUORIS. The scene was a new one to Moses, whose whole life had been passed in the palace and presence of the queen. Had the well-known act of tyranny and oppression which roused his indignation and rash vengeance, been one of frequent occurrence, at the command or through the connivance of his foster-mother, there would have been no novelty in it to him, and his *slaying* of the Egyptian task-master would be a mere wanton murder. It is only upon the assumption that the sight was altogether new and strange to Moses, that we can either justify or account for his rashness.

On the following day Moses discovered the mistake he had made. The Hebrews themselves had been his betrayers. This is, in the first place, a probable effect of the degradation consequent upon their state of

* There is a strange confusion of names of kings huddled together to form a list of thirty-eight kings, between MENES and AMUNTIMÆUS. This list the chronologer, Syncellus, quotes at third hand from Erastosthenes (Bunsen: *Egypt's Place*, p. 668). The 36th name in it is Σιφθας, and the 37th Θουωρι. We believe these to be the names of SIPHTHA and THOUORIS, which the compiler has, by mistake, put among the predecessors of AMUNTIMÆUS.

† Exodus ii. 11—15.

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slavery. There were, in addition, other and still more powerful reasons to prejudice him in the minds of his brethren, who would doubtless resent, and deeply, as a wrong done to their clan, his refusal of the crown of Egypt.

The Pharaoh who heard this thing, and sought to slay Moses, was SIPHTHA, who continued, as we have assumed, king of the Delta until his death. The predilection of his aged wife for this stranger, whom we suppose to have been of the same age with himself, of which she had just given so remarkable an instance, would hardly fail of making an unfavourable impression upon the mind of this weak, but generally quiet and humane person. These motives, it is impossible to doubt, would in some measure prompt the zealous endeavour of SIPHTHA to enforce against Moses the laws of Egypt, which, without question, he had flagrantly violated.* Moses, however, "fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian," where he also remained for another long interval.

To write the history of Egypt after the flight of Moses is once more a task of great difficulty, through the paucity of our monumental evidence and the uncertainty of its indications. It was occupied, formally and publicly, by the reign of the infant, SETHOS II., but really by that of THOUORIS with her husband SIPHTHA. This very scarcity of monuments, however, itself records a notable circumstance in the history of the epoch. The mitigation of the severity of the bondage of Israel, which began with the sole reign of AMENEPHTHIS, con-

* Diodorus, i. 77.

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tinued during the whole of that portion of the reign of his successor, SETHOS II., in which his foster-parents and guardians governed jointly with him. We have for this reason ascribed it solely to their influence, and endeavoured to trace it to the better principles of queen THOUORIS, and to the mild and perhaps imbecile character of SIPHTHA.

THOUORIS, as we have said, survived her nephew AMENEPHTHIS for seven years only. SIPHTHA lived for some years afterwards. We have the monumental evidence of this fact in the many votive tablets he has sculptured on the temples of Thebes, commemorating acts of devotion to SESOSTRIS and other Pharaohs of the Theban line. His name, alone, appears on these tablets. Had THOUORIS been then living, doubtless, as queen sovereign, her name, also, would have been associated with his.

For the precise period of the death of SIPHTHA, we shall once more be indebted to the Mosaic narrative. It took place in the 80th year of the life of Moses; that is, when he was 79 years of age, which, by our computation, corresponds with the 429th year of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt. In this memorable year Moses received in the wilderness of Sinai his mission to lead the children of Israel out of Egypt into Canaan, their land of promise.* In this year also SETHOS II. became, by the death of his uncle and foster-father, sole king of all Egypt. The character of this monarch, therefore, must now be carefully reviewed.

If the testimony of his own monuments is to be re-

* Exodus iv. 19, *seq.*

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ceived, SETHOS II. was an idle, profligate prince, too much absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure, for either the cares of the state or the duties of religion. The former he left to his relations and guardians, the latter he altogether neglected. The scarcity of his monumental memorials and the state of his tomb, constitute our proof in support of these charges. The latter is in this, as in all other instances, especially instructive. Its extent shows, as we have said, that his reign cannot have been a short one. The execution of the trifling portions of it that are finished, unequivocally testify to the consummate skill of the artists at his command; yet is it the most slovenly and unsightly tomb in the whole valley. We must confess ourselves unable to discover any key but one, to this perplexing monumental indication. We have often found how strictly in Ancient Egypt it was laid down, that the tomb should be the work exclusively of the individual who, after his death, was to be deposited in it. The construction of it began at the instant of his arrival at man's estate, and the man himself alone superintended, directed, and remunerated the labour of its construction. The extreme sacredness of the privacy of the tomb in Ancient Egypt, renders it all but certain that no one but the excavator himself, save the labourers and artists, was ever allowed to enter it, even during his lifetime. When the work was not actually in progress, the entrance was most carefully closed, and any attempt on the part of a stranger to intrude upon its hallowed secresy, would have been sacrilege in the highest degree. It would also appear from the tomb now before us, that

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this work of a man's life was proceeded with at stated seasons, intermitting during the intervals of their recurrence. From these considerations, we infer that the gangs of artists and labourers who were placed at the command of SETHOS for the excavation and decoration of his tomb, were secretly hired out by him to the princes and nobles of his court, and that with the proceeds of it, he indulged in the extravagant and profligate courses, the demands of which the doubtless liberal allowance of his guardians had failed to supply. SETHOS went in pilgrimage to the valley on the stated solemnities, and recommenced the work from the point up to which, had he done his duty, the tomb ought to have been finished; but he had the workmen secretly conveyed away, and as we have said, hired out elsewhere, unknown to his guardians, who were forbidden by religion to enter the tomb of another. It is thus, and thus only, we repeat, that it appears possible to account for the present appearance of the tomb of SETHOS II.

Our next indication of the character of this king, must be sought in the tomb destined to contain the bodies of his guardians THOUORIS and SIPHTHA. The death of the latter would impose upon his successor the duty of superintending the funeral rites of the deceased king; and, therefore, of personally visiting the valley, to take part in the ceremonies accompanying the deposit of the body in its sarcophagus, and the closure of the tomb. Here he would not fail to perceive the striking, and to himself most disgraceful contrast, presented by the two adjacent vaults. Whether this was the motive,

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or what other, we know not, but he committed on this occasion an act of sacrilege unparalleled in the annals of Egypt. He stuccoed over the names and portraits of his guardians, writing his own name upon the new layer of plaster. SETHOS was the beginner of this, in Ancient Egypt, fearful sacrilege; for his name occurs on the lowest of the *couches* of stucco. One wall only, however, of the entrance hall has suffered the defacement. The death of SETHOS himself, therefore, speedily followed that of SIPHTHA, whose memory he thus wantonly insulted. For the circumstances that befel Egypt during the last year of the reign of this unhappy king, we must once more return to the Mosaic narrative.

Moses remained in Midian, leading the life of a shepherd in the desert, until he was 79 years old.* The interval is termed in the Bible, "many days."† It appears to have consisted of upwards of thirty-three years. In this year "the king of Egypt died," and Moses received the Divine intimation, "Go, return to Egypt, for all the men are dead who sought thy life."‡ The king of Egypt who died, must therefore have been SIPHTHA. But the command was not given merely because Moses by the law or custom of Egypt could now safely return thither.§ A far higher motive and purpose were in the mind of God. "And the children of Israel sighed by reason of their bondage; and they cried: and their cry came up unto God."‖ That is, in consequence of the death of the king of Egypt, the captive Israelites sighed and cried, as they had not

* Exodus vii. 7. † יבמים הרבים, *id.* ii. 23. ‡ *Idem*, iv. 19.
§ See Rosetta, *passim*. ‖ Exod. ii. 23.

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sighed and cried before that event. We see not how it is possible to interpret the passage otherwise. The death of SIPHTHA, therefore, was followed by some terrrible aggravation of the bondage of Israel in Egypt. This fact is very clearly implied. The cause of it must be sought in the character of SETHOS II., who on the death of SIPHTHA became the autocrat of all Egypt. The traits in it, which we have already detected, ought to have fully prepared us for such procedures, inasmuch as the history of mankind makes it notorious, that a profligate prince nearly always proves a tyrant king.

The circumstances in which the present aggravation of the bondage in Egypt originated, are not difficult of comprehension. The whole administration of the Delta being, by the death of SIPHTHA, thrown upon his successor, the presence of SETHOS II. in this part of his dominions would necessarily be required soon after his accession. His outrage upon the tomb of THOUORIS and SIPHTHA, which must have been one of the first acts of his reign, is instructive as to the state of his feelings towards his deceased foster-parents and relatives. He went thither, accordingly, and took up his abode in the royal city of Ramses, in which the Ramessæum of Lower Egypt, mentioned in the final treaty with Sheth, was certainly situated. On his arrival, he would find many circumstances in the condition of Israel, which would not fail to press themselves upon his notice. Their vast increase in numbers and influence, and the utter failure of all the attempts to repress them, on the one hand, and on the other, the

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great falling off in the results of their forced labours, under the rule of his guardians, as compared with the works of his grandfather, were facts not to be concealed. They would moreover, necessarily strengthen the evil impression already formed in his mind against the memories of his guardians, and also prepossess him against the race whom they had, in his convictions, so unduly favoured. These bad thoughts and designs would be yet further aggravated in him by the suggestions and slanders of the crowd of adventurers and parasites, which always haunts the purlieus of courts. Their proposals and calculations would appeal to his cupidity; the one remaining passion that generally remains unsated, because insatiable, in the breast of the worn-out debauchee. For this reason they could not fail of success. Orders the most stringent and cruel were issued to his taskmasters, and the demands upon the labours of the Israelites were increased far beyond the possibility of their fulfilling them. These, we apprehend, were the aggravating circumstances that took place in the captivity of Israel on the death of SIPHTHA, and which drew forth from the sufferers, the cry which the God of Israel and of all the earth heard, and issued His command to Moses their destined liberator, "Go, return to Egypt."

The deeply interesting occurrences that took place on Moses' return to Egypt, are amply recorded in the pages of that Book, the contents of which are happily so familiar to the great majority of English readers. This last circumstance would itself have sufficed to liberate us from the necessity of repeating here, and

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commenting upon the whole of the details of the inspired narrative. Our very recently published work still further acquits us of this obligation; merely, therefore, referring to it, we shall as before strictly confine our present remarks upon the sacred history, to the points which bear directly upon that of Egypt.

The whole of the interviews of Moses and Aaron with Pharaoh, and of the events that preceded the Exodus, took place in the royal city founded by SESOSTRIS, and named in the Bible Raamses and Rameses. It was *a stronghold or magazine:* "the stronghold of RAMSES."* We have said that it had been built altogether by the forced labours of the children of Israel, and that the name given to it was the Upper Egyptian one of its founder and of their oppressor, SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. It was situated on the western border of the Delta, about midway between the Canopic branch of the Nile and the canal of Alexandria. The remains of the ancient canal, whereby it was amply supplied by the waters of the Nile, are still visible. The completion and fortification of this city, and of Pithom, were the first works to which SESOSTRIS directed the forced labours of the captive Israelites. His object in doing so was, as we have said, strategical. He was enabled by this means to entrench in fortified camps a strong military force on both the borders of the Delta, thereby commanding perfectly the whole district.

The heady impatience with which SETHOS resented

* We have now no doubt that the Ramesseum, named in the final treaty with Sheth, is this city.

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the first demand of Moses and Aaron, and his consequent aggravation of the stringent cruelty of his former exactions,* constitute a trait in the character of this unhappy monarch for which our former estimate of it will have fully prepared us. We only particularize them because of the indication, as to the season of the year in Egypt, embodied in the passage that relates them. The captives were no longer to have straw given them, but they must themselves collect stubble in the fields to mingle with the Nile mud, of which the bricks were made. The harvest, therefore, of Egypt was just at an end, and the stubble had not yet been collected into heaps and burnt, before the fields were again overflowed, according to the custom in Egypt in all ages, from the foundation of the monarchy until now. This season in Egypt corresponds nearly with May in our calendar.

The second interview of the messengers of God with the profane and insolent tyrant met with no better success than the first.† He despised alike their miracles and their threats, and thereby drew down upon himself and his people the fearful series of visitations so well known in the history of mankind as the plagues of Egypt.

Their inspired narrative will not require to be quoted here. We shall merely notice the points in them which bear upon the history and institutions of Egypt.

* Exodus v. † *Idem*, vii. 10—13.

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I. The River becomes Blood.*

Pharaoh Sethos would go down to the brink of the river on a solemn stated occasion. Moses and Aaron were commanded to meet him there. The ceremony had, doubtless, some connection with the rise of the Nile. We have found the season of the preceding interview. Immediately afterwards the Nile begins to increase. The Green Nile† had already lasted for its appointed season. The god who presided over it had been worshipped, and all the prescribed rites performed. The appearance next in order was (as we have elsewhere explained) the Red Nile.‡ It was to inspect the state of the water, and to order the god to be worshipped, and the ceremonies appertaining, that Pharaoh went down to the river when the messengers of the God of Israel met him. The plague was a fearful one. The appearance of the water, which we have described, was made to become reality—the river ran clotted blood. The fish died—the water corrupted and stank—the Egyptians could not drink of it, just at the season when it is, generally, most refreshing. The wording of the narrative of Moses decides the locality of the miracle he performed, and beyond the possibility of question. He was commanded to stretch forth his hand over the *Niles*,§ יְאֹרִים, Copt. ⲓⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ, Hierog. *ir-t.* This word is never used in Egypt but of the Nile and its natural branches.

* Exod. vii. 14—24. † Vol. i. pp. 10, 11. ‡ *Idem*, pp. 11, 12.
§ Exod. vii. 19.

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There are *Niles* in the Delta only. The water became blood in all the branches of the river as well as in all the *canals*, נהרים, in all the *pools* where the reeds grew on the borders of the Desert, אגמים,* in all the *lakes* מקוה, and in all the smaller *channels* of irrigation, כלים, whether of wood or of stone.

This miracle was confined to the Delta, the principal scene of the sufferings of Israel. It lasted seven days, which is about the time that the contents of the river would require to flow from the crown of the Delta to the sea. The Egyptians found drinkable water by digging near the river. This was either spring water or the water of the upper country filtering through the sand. Their sufferings from thirst during this plague must, nevertheless, have been very great. Pharaoh, however, did not participate in them. The city of Rameses, where his palace was, stood on the extreme western verge of the irrigated lands, and its supply of water was, probably enough, drawn from springs on the desert. He, therefore, disregarded the miracle and refused to obey the command. This is a bad trait in the character of SETHOS, which we shall find throughout the plagues. He only relented when he himself suffered personally. The sufferings of his people he never regarded.

On the present occasion, as before, he was hardened in his resistance by the priesthood of his idolatry. They, also, were permitted to turn water, perhaps of the impluvia (or tanks in the centre of the open courts of the temples) into blood. So that it was a mere battle of the gods; and the gods of Egypt may conquer

* "The hinder pools" (*above*, p. 26).

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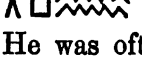
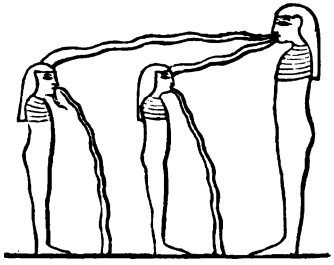
after all. These would be the impious thoughts with which he sustained himself in his wickedness.

The god of the Nile was an impersonation of Nu or Noah. He was named *hp-mu* or, on the most ancient monuments, *hp-ro-mu*,* i.e., "the hidden waters," or "the  waters whose mouth (source) is hidden." He was often represented



† thus: with the Nile issuing from his mouth. His name alludes very plainly to the circumstance that the source of the Nile was unknown. This god underwent three different impersonations at the three states of the Nile, which were coloured after them blue, green, and red. So that he was worshipped in a different image at each change of the river.

Nu, or water, was one of the chief father-gods, and an object of profound veneration in all Egypt. Over him, therefore, Jehovah, by this plague, asserted His supremacy.

II. The Plague of Frogs.‡

Frogs are little seen or heard in Egypt during the low Nile; but when the waters of the overflow first

* See the tomb of Amunei, Beni-hassan.

† Tomb of Ramses III. In this device all the three Niles are represented. The great nether abyss supplies both the branch that traverses Egypt, and that which traverses heaven.

‡ Exodus viii. 1—15.

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enter the small channels and moisten the mud in the larger ones, they seem to start forth as from a torpor in countless myriads. They float in loathsome masses with the turbid scum of the flood. They croak incessantly, until the ear aches with the reiterated harshness through the sultry night. They are revolting enough in ordinary years when they keep principally to the river. What the torment must have been when, at the beck of Aaron, they came up from the water and went into the houses, sitting upon the tables and upon the beds, hopping into the ovens and into the kneading-troughs, croaking incessantly when at rest, and shrieking and yelling like demons when pursued and in danger, we must confess our own inability to imagine.

Frogs are first seen and heard much of in Egypt just about the time of the Red Nile. So that here again God scourged Egypt with the ordinary occurrence of the season.

Frogs were always a great nuisance in Egypt, and from the beginning the driving of them away was entrusted to a goddess called *Heki*.* She sometimes appears with the head of a frog. So important was the function they supposed her to fulfil, that she was one of the supreme goddesses in all Egypt. She was the great patroness of the crocodiles, on account of the number of frogs they devour. On a mummy at Paris she is represented suckling two crocodiles. She was worshipped in a shrine of wonderful magnificence, dedicated to her in a city built on the mouth of the Sebennytic branch, which was named, after her, *Buto*

* The croak of the frog, βρεκ εκ εκ εξ, in Greek (*Aristophanes*).

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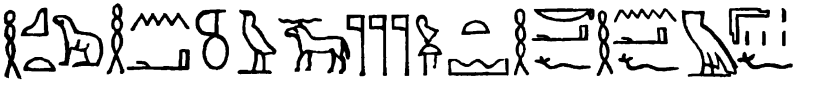
(*i.e.*, ⲃⲟϯ *abomination*, ⲧⲟⲓ *contending with*) in the days of Herodotus.* This shrine was then celebrated for the delivery of oracular responses. Heki had long before been famed for this gift, as appears in the following passage taken from a tablet in the British Museum,† which is dated in the thirteenth year of AMENEMES II.,



i.e., "*Heki and Nu, the gods of Hades, augur*‡ (deliver oracles) *unto him*,§ *each from beneath their pent-houses* (or screens)."

The goddess, Buto, therefore, was humbled in the second plague.

The priests of Buto can bring frogs, after they had vainly invoked their goddess to drive them away. But SETHOS is personally inconvenienced, and he now disregards his own priests as disdainfully as Moses and Aaron before. His display of attrition rid him of the frogs: that was all he wanted. He broke his promise the moment they were gone; he never meant to keep it.

III. THE PLAGUE OF MOSQUITOES.||

The inundation had overtopped the embankments and begun to flow over the fields, which were covered

* ii. 155. † No. 539. ‡ *hgn.*, Copt., ϭⲓⲛⲓ "to augur."
§ That is, the dead person whom the tablet commemorates.
|| Exodus viii. 16—19.

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with the very fine dust into which the mud of the preceding overflow had crumbled. The moment this dust is discoloured by the water, gnats and flies innumerable burst their pupæ and rest upon the moistened warp, so that as the water slowly advances a broad black band of insects goes before it. This is the case in ordinary years, and this was the next occurring phenomenon in the overflow of which the God of Israel availed himself, in the plague of mosquitoes. This insect is generally confined to the sea-coast of Egypt; but in this memorable year the whole dust of the land became mosquitoes before the wonder-working staff of Aaron. The priests were unequal to a similar display of supernatural agency. They acknowledged, and before Pharaoh, that the finger of One greater than their gods directed this plague. SETHOS, however, was not much inconvenienced by it. The fans of his attendants and the curtains of his apartments kept them from his person; so that, once more, he paid no more attention to the priests than to Moses and Aaron.

IV. THE PLAGUE OF FLIES.*

Pharaoh was again going forth in procession to the hallowed verge of the river, when once more the servants of Jehovah were commanded to meet him there. The occasion of this religious pomp was one which has ever been observed in Egypt, and to this day. The inundation had advanced sufficiently to reach the sluices or mounds which blocked the entrances to the

* Exodus viii. 20—32.

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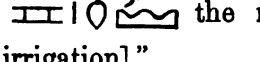
great canals of irrigation, whereby the fertilizing flood was conveyed to the parts of Egypt the most distant from the river. This is never done until the flood has risen so high that the lands immediately bordering on the river are well covered with water. It is at this day the great ceremony of the year in Egypt. The Pasha, in person, directs the opening of the great canal of Cairo. All the authorities of Egypt accompany him in procession. This was the grand festival of the whole year in Ancient as in Modern Egypt. It closes the feasts to be observed in the calendar of the tomb of Nahrai, at Beni-hassan, "the chief of all the festivals,"

 * [even cutting] "with ceremony [or well] the mound of the land canal [*i.e.*, of irrigation]."

It would be no slight mortification to the proud king of Egypt, to receive so peremptory a message accompanied by so distinct and terrible a threat, in the midst of such a solemnity, at the head of all the dignities of the monarchy, and surrounded by the splendours of his court. The threatened plague was again the occurrence of the season. When the overflow is near its height, and a considerable part of the surface of Egypt is covered with water, the flies (which the rising flood had called to life in enormous quantities) are deprived thereby of their ordinary feeding places, and mad with hunger, they infest the cities of Egypt in swarms, and work annoyance to man and beast inconceivable to those who have not actually experienced it. To those who have, it will be a matter of no surprise, either

* Long inscription, col. 96.

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that Israel in Goshen was protected from it, or that SETHOS quailed before it.

V. THE PLAGUE OF THE MURRAIN.*

The time of the overflow was a season of great suffering for the cattle of Ancient Egypt. They were driven forth into the flooded fields to browze the reeds, vetches, and other plants, as they appeared upon the surface of the flood. They are often thus represented deep in the water on the walls of the tombs, and in very many cases, on the same plane, or line of picture, is the subject of diseased cattle, tended by men administering medicine to them, signifying plainly the deleterious effects of this mode of pasturage. The buffalo was unknown in Ancient Egypt. It is an amphibious animal. It has now pretty nearly taken the place there of every other species of horned cattle.

The plague upon this occasion was more plainly from God, than ever before. The whole of the Egyptian cattle died of the epidemic of the season. It even extended itself to the horses and camels in the desert. At the same time the cattle of Israel were as miraculously free from the suffering incidental to the state of their pastures. Of their cattle died not one, as the king of Egypt ascertained on inquiry.

In this plague also then, the ordinary occurrence of the season was wielded by the God of Israel against SETHOS and his kingdom.

* Exodus ix. 1—7.

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VI. THE PLAGUE OF BOILS.*

One of the last operations of the husbandman in Egypt during the overflow, is the consuming of the stubble and weeds which are collected on the highest lands, and very carefully burnt to ashes. To insure this, they are kindled many times over. The high lands at this day are generally on the banks of the river, which are often burning for many miles together, so that the whole country appears to be on fire. This has always been the custom in Egypt, from the most ancient times of which we have any monumental record. The festivals of "the greater burning," and of "the lesser," appear in the calendars of the earliest of the tombs of Ghizeh. We infer, that this burning was a festival occupying several days, and that the same superstition as to its entire consumption had always prevailed. SETHOS and the priests were doubtless engaged in some ceremony connected with these feasts, when Aaron threw over them handfuls of the ashes of this *conflagration*,† which covered them with ulcers, so that they could not proceed with the rite. The ashes at the same time drifted in clouds before the Etesian wind over the land, and inflicted a grievous plague upon the entire population. SETHOS did not himself suffer from them. The fans of his attendants kept off the royal person the white feathery particles which at this

* Exodus ix. 8—12.

† כבשן, "country [district] on fire." See Genesis xix. 28, Exodus xix. 18, which are the only other places in which the word occurs in the Bible. The word "furnace" is a mistake altogether.

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time cover every thing in Egypt. As before, he disregarded the plague; for he had no sympathy with the sufferings of his subjects.

As the white dust of the burning, drifting before the wind, is the last of the remarkable appearances connected with the rising of the Nile, so the plague of boils is the last of the agencies which the God of Israel drew from thence, wherewith to afflict the Egyptians, thus affording them a terrible proof of His ability to turn even this their chief blessing into a grievous curse.

When Moses and Aaron were next commanded to bear the message of God to Pharaoh, it commenced with a solemn reiteration of the whole of the original message, accompanied with the denunciation of future and still more fearful judgments.* This circumstance strongly suggests the lapse of a longer period of time than had intervened between any of the former plagues. The following plague shows that such must have been the case.

An interval of four to five months had occurred, which being the time of the recession of the overflow, when the land required to be tilled and sown, all the labour which Egypt could command would be wanted in the fields, so that there would be no force to spare for works of construction. On this account, the bondage of Israel would of necessity have been considerably mitigated at this season, in any case. It is not, however, for a moment to be imagined that, after these six grievous judgments, Pharaoh or his servants would have ventured upon the audacious wickedness of persevering

* Exodus ix. 13—17.

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in the oppression of Israel by forced labours. As the bondage is never mentioned in the inspired narrative after the commencement of the plagues, we infer that it then ceased, and that the only remaining question was the departure of Israel from Egypt. The period now under review was doubtless employed by the Israelites in assembling themselves in the Delta, and in making preparations for their departure, under the direction of Moses and Aaron.

SETHOS very probably left the Delta during this interval, returning to Upper Egypt.

VII. THE PLAGUE OF HAIL.*

The barley is in the ear and the flax in stalk about the end of December, or early in January. At this season rain and even hail are by no means unknown in Lower Egypt and the Delta. They come in storms, often with thunder and lightning. So that in this instance also, the plague was the occurring phenomenon of the season. Rain seems to be always accounted a misfortune to the husbandman in Egypt. It never can be calculated upon; and when it comes, it disturbs the just proportion of moisture, upon which, in the conviction of the inhabitants, the crop depends altogether. Under these circumstances, the consternation in Egypt must have indeed been overwhelming, when hailstones big enough to destroy life in man and beast, poured down incessantly day after day, and when the lightning struck the earth with such fearful intensity, that even

* Exodus ix. 22—35.

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her capacious womb was unable to receive the torrents of the electric fluid that burst upon her surface, and it ran along the ground in search of conduction, as in thunderstorms between the tropics.

The stout heart of SETHOS was crushed before the plague, while it lasted, and for some weeks afterwards. During this period, the preparations of the Israelites for their departure would go on uninterruptedly. It was not until about a month later, when the season of storms was well nigh over, and all fear of the return of the hail at an end, that SETHOS withdrew his permission.

The gods of Egypt with whom Jehovah contended, or rather to whom the Egyptians would betake themselves in the plague of hail, were the divinities presiding over fire. They appear to have been numerous and very powerful in their demonology. The goddess at the head of them was lion-headed. Her name, *phi-chol*, meant "the chastiser with fire." She was tutelary at Bubastis in the eastern Delta, the name of which city was also hers, Hellenized. This we have already explained.* She had likewise under her a long train of inferior divinities, who are called in the "Book of the Dead," "the *mnh* gods."† These are the Eumenides or Furies of the Egyptian mythology. Doubtless all the rites prescribed for their worship had been duly paid, and their utter helplessness fully tested, before Pharaoh sent for Moses and Aaron.

* Above, pp. 386, 395.

† Greek, μανῆν "rage," "be mad."

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VIII. The Plague of Locusts.*

Pharaoh's princes are alarmed at the very name of this terrible scourge. Even Sethos is moved, and asks of the messengers of Jehovah the conditions of his obedience. The God of Israel demands his surrender unconditionally. Whether the reply was dictated by rage or dissimulation, whether he raved in fury or whined in hypocrisy, is not quite certain. Whichever mood swayed him, he brought upon himself and his people a blow more destructive than any that had hitherto fallen on them from the arm of God.

The Nile flowed once more between its banks, a noble river of clear blue water. The mitigated fervors of the sun in the winter solstice have called forth the scene of fertility and beauty which we endeavoured to describe at the outset of the present work. The plague of locusts must have taken place then. At no other season would it have been possible in Egypt. Over such a scene at such a season, nothing more appalling can be imagined, than that the air should suddenly be darkened with clouds of locusts—the most dreaded of all the visitations of the East. They came upon the east wind. It was their wonted time and course of migration. They alighted on the fertile plains of the Delta, ravenous with hunger, and in number, such as had never before been seen, nor will be again. The clattering buzz of their flight, and the grinding of their hard jaws, were heard on all sides. The green beauties of the spring were soon crossed with broad black

* Exodus x. 1—20.

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furrows, which widened rapidly until they met, and in a time incredibly short to those that have not actually observed the ravages of the locust, Egypt was as clear of any green thing, as utterly devoid of one product for the sustentation of man or beast, as the most arid sand-flat of the Sahara.

The Israelites did not want the produce of the harvest of Egypt that year, therefore the whole Delta was given over to the locusts.

When Pharaoh sent for Moses and Aaron, the locusts were commencing their ravages upon the bark of the fruit-trees. It was this circumstance that alarmed the whole counsel.

Another interval of some weeks was spent in the preparations of Israel for their departure before SETHOS dared once more to brave the anger of God by again violating his pledged word, and refusing to let Israel go.

IX. THE PLAGUE OF DARKNESS.*

In this, as in all the preceding plagues, the occurrence of the season is God's agent, wherewith he plagues Egypt. The plague of darkness was a sand-storm. The west wind, which had carried away the locusts was the setting in of the Hamseen, which, as we have already explained, generally commences early in April. When Moses stretched forth his hand, it suddenly freshened to a hurricane, and sweeping up the light dust of the desert in drifts and columns,

* Exodus. x. 21—26.

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poured it down upon the western portions of the Delta in quantities incredible, and with suffering to man and beast indescribable. To face one of these sand-storms is to hazard death by suffocation, so that to leave the house is impossible: "They rose not any from his place."* The sun is frequently so much obscured by the sand-drifts, as to render it needful to use artificial light in the day-time; but the air in the apartments is so saturated with sand, that it seems to have lost its transparency, and scarcely any light is diffused through it: "They saw not one another." It is utterly in vain to attempt any description of the personal suffering which is inflicted by such an atmosphere. The wonder is, that an incessant sand-storm for three days did not depopulate the district which suffered it. The mortality among the young and the old, the weak and the sickly, must have been enormous.

The plague of darkness takes its place, not only as the occurrence in the cycle of the seasons, but also as one of the topmost rounds in this fearful climax of judgments.

"The children of Israel had light in their dwellings."† The sand was all deposited in the western Delta; when the wind reached the dwellings of Israel in Goshen it was comparatively free from it.

This plague took place exactly twelve months after the first message from God had been delivered to SETHOS. In the course of this terrible year, God had taken all the principal phenomena, in the order of their occurrence, into His hands, and converted each of them

* Exodus x. 23. † *Idem.*

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from a blessing to a curse, from a benefit to a torment, and in the sight of all Egypt. They failed in subduing the obduracy of SETHOS, as He who contended with that wretched king foreknew and declared; but they completely answered God's purpose, nevertheless. They broke the yoke of the oppressor from the neck of Israel: so that the preparations for His sojourn in the wilderness went on unmolested to their completion.

Now all was ready. The tribes of Israel were encamped around the cities of their respective princes in the Delta, and they only waited there the command to go forward.

That Re-Athom of Heliopolis was the god to whom the Egyptians would betake themselves in the plague of darkness, and that they would fully prove his impotency against the God of Israel, are high probabilities. We state, however, here our conviction that Jehovah did not, in the selection of His means wherewith to chastise Egypt, especially condescend to the gods of their idolatry. He rather saw fit to assert His sovereignty over the entire system of natural laws whereby the fertility of Egypt was administered, than over those particulars in that system of which the Egyptians had made their idols. God's controversy in this case was not with the idolatry of Egypt but with the detention of Israel; and this His purpose He gloriously accomplished. The other dishonour to Him and His worship He allowed to hang on the evil tree that bore it, for some fifteen hundred years longer, and then it fell to the earth so rotten ripe that no man turned his head to note its fall.

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X. The Death of the First-born.

In the execution of this most terrible judgment God thrust forth His own arm from behind the veil of nature and her laws, and Himself struck the blow. Even on this occasion it was not until another message of warning had been given to Sethos and rejected;* nor until he had finally dismissed, with obloquy, the messengers whom God had thus mightily accredited,† that the blow was stricken. It fell upon the heart of Sethos.

"*And it came to pass, that at midnight Jehovah smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on the throne, unto the first-born of the captive in the dungeon, and all the first-born of cattle.*"‡

The name and brief history of the first-born of Sethos II. are still told upon the monuments. He had just been associated with his father on the throne of Egypt. The absence of Sethos from the Delta in the interval between the sixth and seventh plagues may, probably, have been occasioned by the solemnities at Thebes and Memphis, connected with his inauguration in the co-regency with his father. His name appears on the portal of his tomb, now that the stucco, with which it was afterwards overlaid, has fallen off.

The work had proceeded no further than the shaping of this entrance on the face of the cliff, when it was ended by his untimely death. ("Sun vigilant in the three kingdoms, absorbing Amun"). The name and memory of the hapless

* Exodus xi. 4—8 (Samar. vers.). † *Idem*, x. 28, 29.

‡ *Idem*, xii. 29.

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youth were consigned to infamy and oblivion like those of his father. His rings were covered with stucco by one of his father's successors, RAMSES III., and by him the vault was completed.*

THE EXODUS

Was an event at least as important to the history of Egypt as to that of Israel. Not less than five millions of souls left the borders of Egypt never to return, in this memorable emigration. The population of all Egypt had never equalled eight millions; so that the calculation of SESOSTRIS had been literally correct. The sons of Abraham and of Mizraim had dwelt together in the land, and the former tribe had absorbed the latter. Such is the invariable consequence of these intermixtures of races in the same district, even where the peculiarities and differences of each are far more strongly marked than were those of Israel and Mizraim. The one merges in the other. Even this nationally fearful event was by no means the sum of the disasters which the obstinacy of SETHOS had already brought upon Egypt. At the Divine command, the Israelites had *demanded the hire* † of their servitude to Egypt, of their Egyptian neighbours, in the midst of whom they were dwelling throughout Lower Egypt; and such was the panic from God which had taken hold upon men's minds, that they willingly gave up their possessions to the Israelites, as the condition of their instant depar-

* Wilkinson, No. 11. † שְׂאֵל.

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ture; so that Israel went forth out of Egypt as a conquering army, laden with spoil.*

"And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth."†

This was the first journey of Israel. The passage is our authority for the statement, that SETHOS was resident in Rameses at the time of the Exodus. The site of this royal city, on the mounds at the centre of the western border of the Delta which still retain the name, is, we submit, permanently established by that of the city at the other extremity of the journey. It was Succoth, which we have long ago identified with Xois in the centre of the Delta, lying due eastward from Rameses, and therefore exactly in the route of Israel. The distance between the two cities is about thirty miles, which would be the probable extent of the first remove of Moses and Aaron with the chief princes of Israel. They left the present capital of the Delta for its ancient capital. This is an equally probable circumstance in favour of our identification. The palaces or houses of the heads of the tribes of Israel must necessarily have been in the one metropolis or the other. Both cities must, therefore, have been gathering-places, whither the tribes had resorted in their preparations for the Exodus.

These circumstances seem to us to complete the identification of the two cities.

The children of Israel were "about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children."‡

A smaller number than four millions of souls cannot

* Exodus xii. 29—36. † *Idem*, 37. ‡ *Idem*.

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be implied by these expressions. A less surface than the whole Delta could not possibly have sufficed for the sustentation of such a mass of human beings. These are positions as obvious as any within the compass of the science of statistics. They obviate, moreover, altogether, the supposed necessity, that Ramses and Succoth should both be on the edge of the eastern desert; a mistake which has led to the laying down in that district of two imaginary sites so named, in the popular maps that profess to illustrate the scripture narrative of the Exodus.

"And *a mixed multitude** went with them, and flocks and herds, even very much cattle." †

These were the slaves of the princes of Israel, who tended the cattle, and performed other acts of drudgery. They belonged to no particular race, but were the outcasts of all races; hence their name, Arabs, which at this day is the common appellation for the inhabitants of Egypt, and of all the districts to the east and west of it for thousands of miles. This troop of slaves swells the whole emigration to five millions at least. The entire population of Egypt never exceeded eight millions at any time.

And the children of Israel "took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness." ‡

Etham was the *Patumos* of the Greeks, the *Thoum* of the Arabs. It stood about twelve miles north-east from Heliopolis, and on "the edge of the wilderness." This site lies exactly in the direction from Succoth or

* Hebrew, ערבי. † Exodus xii. 38. ‡ *Idem*, xiii. 20.

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Xois indicated in another passage of the same narrative.

"And it came to pass that when Pharaoh let the people go, God led them not the way of the land of the Philistines [by Damietta and the sea], although that was near: for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt: but God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea." *

The deflexion to the southward from the ordinary route across the Isthmus, in the journey from Ramses to Succoth, and from Succoth to Etham (or Thoum), is clearly indicated here. The change it introduces in the now prevalent mode of tracing the route of Israel through Egypt, consists in placing the three stations named in it in three sites all having the same names at the present day, instead of inventing sites for them in the eastern Delta, upon conjectures based on nothing.

The route by which the Israelites reached the Red Sea, is an inquiry bearing strongly and directly upon questions connected with their history, while it only touches that of Egypt collaterally. For this reason, we merely state concerning it, that the valley still named after the circumstance, Wady-el-Tih, "the valley of wandering," must have been the scene of their journey from Egypt to the Red Sea.† Bassatin, the desert

* Exodus xiii. 17, 18.

† Dr. Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, vol. i. note 9), supposes that the name has been applied to this locality by modern Christian travellers. But this is only because its position upsets his theory of

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station at the entrance of it, lies about twelve miles still to the south-eastward of the mounds of Thoum or Etham.

The condition of the Delta on the departure of Israel from the bounds of Egypt must have been disastrous, far beyond all hope of retrieval. It was not merely that the produce of that year was utterly destroyed, and for many future years entirely blighted, for the locusts and the hail had killed the fruit trees; neither did even the spoiling of the gold, the silver, and the raiment of the inhabitants, represent the extent of the misfortune. All this an invading army might have done, and very frequently has done to a country; and, nevertheless, in a few years the plundered nation has recruited itself, and become prosperous as before. But in the present instance, the entire bulk of the population had departed, and had taken their goods along with them, never to return. Not only were the fields void of produce, but the cities were likewise without inhabitants. The withdrawal in one host of five millions of the inhabitants, with all their possessions, must have been a misfortune irremediable to Egypt. It was more than half the population which her surface was capable of sustaining. The Exodus, then, was an event to tell upon the subsequent history of Egypt, and to leave its destructive traces on the yet unperished coeval records of her monuments, if it was an actual

the passage of the Red Sea. The name *El-Tih* rests on exactly the same authority as other names in the Levant of places mentioned in the Bible. If we object to one on such a ground, why retain any?

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occurrence. Such traces certainly exist, but it is almost needless to premise that they are of necessity altogether of a negative character.

We have fully explained that though the name of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES occurs in every known mound of ruins in the Delta, those of any of his predecessors have been found in two localities only throughout the whole of that district—namely, Heliopolis and Alexandria. The names of the successors of this great king are just as rare in the Delta. They are likewise confined to a few places, occurring only in the cities which were made by the later Pharaohs capitals of Egypt, and therefore named seats of dynasties.

I. The Pharaohs of the 22nd dynasty made their capital Bubastis, according to the lists. In the ruins of this city the names of SHISHAK* and his immediate successors are of frequent occurrence.†

II. Tanis is said, by the compilers of the lists, to have been the capital of the 23rd dynasty. In its ruins, accordingly, the names of some of the later Pharaohs have been found.

III. Sais was the capital of the 26th dynasty; and in the vast parallelogram which marks the site of this city were disinterred many of the granite remains, now in the museums of Europe, bearing the name of PSAMETICHUS, which was common to nearly all the kings of this dynasty.

IV. Mendes was the capital of the 29th dynasty. Its site has not been clearly ascertained, but the name

* Above, p. 99, note. † Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 428, 429.

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of one of its kings, NEPHERITES, has been found in the Delta.

V. The 30th and last dynasty of the native Pharaohs made their capital Sebennytus. The only extant name of its kings, NECTANEBO, has been found both there and at Alexandria.

These are the only localities in the Delta, in the ruins of which the names of any of the successors of SESOSTRIS-RAMSES have been discovered.

The history involved in this remarkable fact is a very melancholy one. The constant succession of Ethiopian invasions, religious wars, and usurpations, of which the history of these later Pharaohs is all but made up, drove them at length from Upper and Middle Egypt, and compelled them to raise their tottering thrones amid the morasses of the Delta. In them they found their safety for a century or two longer, for its inhabitants were but few, and they very rude and savage in character, when compared with the rest of Egypt. It became, therefore, to these last representatives of the house of MENES, that which Ethiopia had been to his earlier descendants—a place of refuge for them from their own rebellious subjects—on account of the extent of its morasses and the fewness of its inhabitants.

The Greek writers give an account of the Delta in their days exactly in harmony with this melancholy picture from the monuments. Many of its cities were deserted and in ruins, and the rest, with the exception of Alexandria, but thinly peopled. The inhabitants of the whole district were few in number, and rude and

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barbarous in character.* Diodorus Siculus elsewhere computes the population of Egypt to have been three millions only in his days, the most flourishing epoch of its later history. In ancient times it had been more than seven millions. The number of cities inhabited was supposed to be then 18,000. In ancient times the number of cities in Egypt had exceeded 30,000, according to the annals of the priesthood.† Diodorus was in Egypt in the days of the last of the PTOLEMIES; and under these Greek kings Egypt enjoyed for nearly three centuries an amount of internal prosperity and external tranquillity far greater than prevailed there in the reigns of any of the native successors of SESOSTRIS; so that its population had considerably recruited since their times. These facts appear in their histories, and they are fully established by their existing monuments. The temples built by the PTOLEMIES very far exceed, both in number and magnificence, the works in Egypt of all the native successors of SESOSTRIS put together.

These, then, are the monumental and historical evidences of the effects of the Exodus upon Egypt, which we have been able to collect.

I. The Delta after that event became a series of swamps and morasses, very thinly peopled, in the fastnesses of which the feeble representatives of the line of MENES repeatedly took refuge from their rebellious subjects. Their names have been found in those cities only in which they resided.

* Diod. i. 29, 34. Thucyd. i. 110, &c., &c.

† c. 31. Such must be the reading of the passage.

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II. At the termination of by far the most prosperous period of this the later history of Egypt, its population was not one half of what it had been before the Exodus, and nearly one half of the cities of Egypt were then wholly deserted.

In a character like that of SETHOS II., over which the fierce wild impulses of unbridled passion reigned supreme, the deep grief and crushing mortification with which the circumstances of the Exodus would at first overwhelm him, would not fail soon to give place to the more stirring emotions to which he had been the slave throughout his life. The lust of revenge would speedily rouse such a mind from the stupor which would follow the first shock of the disasters he had brought upon his country and himself.

"And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people, and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?

"And he [Pharaoh] made ready his chariot, and took his people with him. Yea, he took six hundred chariots, even all the chariots of Egypt, and three men in each of them.

* * * * * *

"Thus the Egyptians pursued after them [Israel], and overtook them encamping by the sea beside Pihahiroth, before Baal-zephon."*

This was a surprise, for the execution of which the state of the Suez frontier of Egypt would require that SETHOS should be perfectly prepared. We have seen

* Exodus xiv. 6, 7, 9.

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how vast an array of chariots the Canaanite enemies of Egypt, especially Sheth, were in the habit of bringing to bear upon this frontier. It will also have been noted, that, as the history proceeded, this arm became more employed by both belligerents, until in the wars of SESOSTRIS it seems to have formed the main strength of their armies. The irrigation of the Delta had preserved the interior from the danger of the attacks of charioteers, but the whole frontier line would still be exposed to them, and require the maintenance of a considerable and permanent force of chariots for its defence. It was of this force that SETHOS availed himself for the surprise of Israel. His princes and nobles would doubtless accompany him in his gallop over the desert, for the charioteers of Ancient Egypt were all men of high rank.

The advance of Pharaoh and his host would be by the Desert of Suez. If the expedition had been secretly planned by Pharaoh and his princes, and was speedily executed, no tidings of it would reach the camp of Israel.

Baal-zephon is the *Djebel-Ataka*, "mount of deliverance," and Pihahiroth the Djebel-Abou-Deradj of modern geography. The former is a bold and lofty promontory, stretching for many miles into the Kolzoum.* The latter is a steep limestone cliff, very rugged, abounding with caverns, and answering well to

* Or, Bahr-el-Kolzoum, "the gulf of destruction," the Arab name of the Gulf of Suez. If El-Tih is to be rejected for the accommodation of Dr. Robinson's theory, for what reason are these names to be retained?

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its ancient name—"mouths of the caves."* Between the two is an even plain of sand, about eight miles over, well adapted for the encampment of the vast host of Israel. It forms the termination of the Wady-el-Tih on the shore of the gulf. The position of the camp was indicated expressly to Moses by one of the *towers*† which the Egyptians were in the habit of erecting for the defence of their coast line. We have seen that the name of these towers, *Migdol*, was borrowed from the Hebrew מגדל, and adopted in all the transcriptions of the ancient language. We have already given this word in hieroglyphics, with many variations in the homophons. Yet another has been read on the monuments of a later period; *ma-ga-til.*

In the Coptic texts it is written ⲙⲉⲅⲇⲱⲗ. The Migdol of this passage seems to have stood between the point of Baal-zephon and the sea.‡ Of this tower SETHOS, at the head of his charioteers, took possession. He had approached it from the northward. The camp of Israel lay to the southward, and the mountain of Baal-zephon had hitherto been between them and the host of Pharaoh; so that he would rush out upon them from Migdol, as from an ambuscade. This circumstance accounts for the exceeding apprehension which possessed the host of Israel at the sight of

* פי־החרות. † Exod. xiv. 2.

‡ It is now, we presume, sufficiently apparent that *Migdol* was a common and not a proper name. The misapprehension of this fact has involved the received geography of the Exodus in inextricable confusion.

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Pharaoh and his army, drawn up in the narrow path, by which alone it was possible for them to pursue their journey to their land of promise. The miraculous agency whereby Israel was hidden from his enemies, and passed through the Red Sea (here about ten miles across), as upon dry land, the furor from God that impelled the infatuated tyrant and his host to rush after them into the abyss, where they all perished beneath the returning waters,* are events common to the histories both of Israel and Egypt, and therefore too well known to demand from us here more than this passing allusion. It was required of us, in writing the history of Egypt, to point out the place in that history of these well-known transactions. This we have endeavoured to do, and with it we close our remarks upon the text of the Exodus of Israel.

The character of SETHOS II., as we have found it on the monuments of his reign, coincides so wonderfully with that of the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, that no doubt seems to remain as to the identification. The obloquy heaped upon the memory of this king after his miserable death still further supports the proof. His tomb in the valley of the kings was publicly desecrated, and seems, from the fragments of coarse cloth and ill-executed wooden coffins still found in it, to have been made a burial-place for malefactors. His sarcophagus was, at the same time, judicially broken to fragments. The distinctive title of his name was

* Exodus xiv.

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erased on all his monuments. Such was the abhorrence which his tyranny and impiety had excited, that the erasure has, in many instances, been extended to the monuments of his ancestor, SETHOS I.* There is nothing surprising in this public execration. We have already seen the utterly irretrievable nature of the disasters into which his headstrong tyranny had plunged Egypt.

The immediate consequences of the Exodus must now be considered. We shall find them shadowed forth, as obscurely as possible, in the account of the Exodus given to the Greeks by the Egyptian priests, and preserved by Josephus.†

"There was a king of Egypt named AMENOPHIS, (*Amenemnes*, lists) one of the successors of RAMSES the Great (SESOSTRIS). He had a desire to see the gods, as HORUS,‡ one of his predecessors, had seen them. He, therefore, consulted a sage of the highest possible reputation for his knowledge of futurity, and of the same name as himself. From him he learnt that this pious desire might be gratified, if he would only rid the country of lepers and all other unclean persons. In consequence the king had collected together all persons afflicted with unclean diseases, to the number of 80,000.§ These he sent out of the bounds of Egypt, and made to work at the hewing of stones in the quarries to the

* *e.g.* on the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome, which was brought thither from Heliopolis. The existence of this erasure has long been familiar to those acquainted with the subject.

† Contra Apion, i. 26. ‡ Above, p. 359.

§ Or, according to Charemon, 250,000.

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eastward of the Nile, as other Egyptians wrought who had been exiled thither for crimes. Some of these lepers were skilled in sacred learning, and the sage Amenophis feared that the wrath of the gods would come both upon himself and the king if these should be unworthily treated. He said, moreover, that some of the impure should fight with and obtain the supremacy over Egypt for thirteen years. Not daring himself to tell this to the king, he killed himself, having first committed the whole to writing; whereupon the king was in despair." The account then proceeds thus: "These [lepers] having been worn down for some time with hewing stones, the king saw right to locate them in the city of Avaris, which had been deserted by the Shepherds. This city is said in the Egyptian theology to be a Typhonian city.* Those who were planted there, having now a place wherein to mature a revolt, appointed for their leader one of the Heliopolitan priests named Osarsiph, and took an oath to obey him in all things. He commanded them neither to worship the gods of Egypt, nor to pay any reverence to the most sacred animals, but to sacrifice and destroy them all; also to have dealings with no one but their confederates [in this league]. Thus he gave them laws altogether opposed to the institutions and customs of Egypt. He then commanded them to fortify the walls of the city, and to make themselves ready to fight against king AMENOPHIS. He [Osarsiph], having associated with him-

* This is probably a mere gibe at Onias and Leontopolis. See above, p. 414. Had this been perceived, it would have saved much learned labour and conjecture to some modern authors.

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self other priests, also leprous, sent ambassadors to the Shepherds who had been expelled from Egypt by THOTHMOSIS, to a city called Jerusalem. To them was explained the proposed rebellion, and the causes of it, and they were asked to join in a war against Egypt. It was proposed to lead them at once to Avaris, which had been the city of their forefathers. They [the Shepherds] eagerly accepted the proposal, levied a force of 200,000 men, and very soon entered Avaris. When AMENOPHIS, king of Egypt, heard of this invasion, he was not much affected, having been warned of it by his namesake. He therefore, collected together the whole of the Egyptians, and took counsel with them. He then sent for the sacred animals which were principally honoured in the temples, and he ordered the priests carefully to hide the images of the gods. Afterwards he committed his infant son named SETHOS, and also RAMESES, who was five years old, to the care of a friend. He went with the rest of the Egyptians, to the number of 300,000 fighting men; but not with the intention of meeting the enemy, for he accounted that would be to fight with the gods. He, therefore, went to Memphis, and, taking with him Apis and the rest of the sacred animals, he immediately withdrew into Ethiopia, together with *the whole population of Egypt.* Here he was hospitably received by the king of the country. This Osarsiph was an Heliopolitan priest, and he was named after Osiris the god of Heliopolis. He afterwards changed his name to Moses."

The event described in this legend, is certainly the Exodus. It is about the account of it we might have

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expected from such an authority. It is chiefly to be noted on account of two great disasters, both of which befel Egypt soon after the departure of Osarsiph and his lepers from its borders. Neither of them is of such a character as to render it possible, that had they not been real events, they would ever have been recorded in the annals of Egypt. Their appearance there is consequently the best possible evidence of their reality. These disasters were, the emigration into Ethiopia, and the invasion of the Solymites. Both will require our consideration here as the direct results of the Exodus.

The Flight into Ethiopia.

This is in itself the most probable of all issues of the disasters of the Exodus to Lower Egypt. "The inhabitants fled," says the legend, "lest they should seem to be fighting against the gods." This well agrees with the Scripture narrative. The dread of the supernatural, the horror from God, which had seized the whole of its inhabitants, and to which almost every paragraph of the sacred narrative makes reference, could scarcely have ended otherwise than in this universal and panic flight from the land in which they had suffered so many terrible tokens of the wrath of the invisible Omnipotence, which administers all things. Our review of this narrative has afforded us unmistakable proofs of the constant growth of this deep, shuddering sense of the Invisible (the most terrific of all forms of fear) among the Egyptians, during the progress of the events that

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preceded the Exodus. It was this passion in his people, quite as much as the grief of SETHOS at the death of his son, that compelled him to let the people go; for the Egyptians said, "We be all dead men."* It was under the same influence, as we need not say, that they cast their worldly wealth, almost without counting it, to the Israelites, to bribe them, so to speak, to instant departure. This impression would be aggravated to a pitch utterly uncontrollable, by the last fearful catastrophe, whereby Pharaoh with the flower of the armies of Egypt perished in the Red Sea. A frenzy of alarm seized the entire population. They rushed forth in one mass from the land against which the displeasure of the gods had so visibly shown itself. They would, doubtless, account that all the plagues would be of annual recurrence; and the assumption would be hard to contradict. It is thus, then, that we account for the event which, by this tradition, we know to have taken place immediately after the Exodus. The Delta was deserted by the whole of its Egyptian inhabitants. They fled southward to Upper Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia.

The length of time during which the Delta remained a desert, is a question belonging to a later period of the history of Egypt. Should our review of it ever be completed, it will then require to be fully considered. In this place it must suffice to state that the period of thirteen years, mentioned in the legend, errs greatly in defect; and that the interregnum between the 19th and 20th dynasties cannot have fallen far short of

* Exodus xii. 33.

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a century. We shall find that this long anarchy is just as imperatively required by the history of Egypt as by that of Israel.

The Invasion of the Solymites.

This part of the legend must be freed from the fables which have been laid over it for the simple purpose of insulting the Jews, before the fact concealed beneath it can be made to appear. The name of *Moses* is paranomastically concealed under the soubriquet, *Osarsiph*, to convey the impression that while in Egypt he had been an idolatrous priest. His name in Egypt, *nmu-tsf*, pronounced *mutsu*, "saved by Nu" (the god of water), was converted into *osirtsf*, "saved by Osiris," because in the times of Josephus, Osiris was the most fashionable of all the gods, and was made the impersonation of everything *wet*, as was Typhon of everything *dry*, by the Alexandrian philosophers. The motive for the introduction of the name *Jerusalem* into the narrative is equally apparent. It is spelt Ἱεροσόλυμα, which means "spoils of temples;" and, accordingly, it is formally stated in the sequel, that the city was so named because it had been built with *the spoils of the temples** of Egypt. These circumstances being therefore put aside, the actual occurrence implied in the legend appears, and is a very probable one. The disasters of the Exodus, and the consequent flight of the Egyptians from the Delta, would soon be known in Canaan, and would as speedily be followed by an extensive emigration

* ἱερῶν σῦλα.

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thither of the Canaanites, who were well acquainted with its fertility; many of the tribes having, likewise, formerly pretended to possessions in it. This emigration would continue throughout the period that the district remained deserted by the Egyptians. In the course of it, another motive would give a still more powerful impulse to the current of this tide of living men. It had, indeed, been active from the first; for the terror at the events of the Exodus we know to have extended itself to Canaan as well as Egypt.* The successes of the Israelites under Joshua would diffuse, through the whole population, a panic of a similar character with that which had possessed the Lower Egyptians. The Canaanites would be perfectly conscious that their country was divinely destined for another race, and that they themselves were, by the same irresistible decree, doomed to utter destruction. They would, likewise, learn from the stragglers of the coming host who had already reached Egypt, that the ordinary succession of the seasons there was no longer interrupted by supernatural prodigies, and that the surface of the Delta was resuming its wonted fertility. Under these circumstances, the current across the Isthmus would receive new and powerful impulses from every new success of the arms of Israel in Canaan. As city after city fell into the hands of the conquerors, wave after wave of this living flood would rush westward to Egypt. The number in the legend, 300,000 fighting men, would give us two millions for the proximate

* See Exod. xv. 14—17, &c.

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amount of the inhabitants of Canaan, who at this crisis sought and found refuge in Egypt from the destroying sword of Israel.

We cannot refrain from citing, in support of this our conclusion, a reason in its favour so powerful, that it alone suffices to establish the position as the highest of all probabilities. Such an arrangement exactly comports with the ordinary dealings of the great Being who ordained it, whose tender mercies are over all His works, and who "in the midst of wrath remembers mercy." A mighty host of individually unoffending human beings was hereby rescued from the violent death, which the foul idolatry of their tribes had drawn down upon them as a judgment from God. A large and most fertile portion of the earth's surface was, likewise, hereby restored to the use of the sons of men. Neither of these was an achievement unworthy of the mind and direction of the God of all the earth.

The history of this immigration (the second Shepherd invasion of our Greek legend), belongs in due order to the next period of the history of Egypt. As this, however, is no part of our present design, and as the matter in hand would, nevertheless, be incomplete without it, we are called upon to proceed with the legend, and to collate it with the coeval monuments, that our story of this event may be brought to its close.

The Solymites, with the leprous Egyptians, having thus entered Lower Egypt, are said to have conducted themselves even worse than the Shepherds of the first invasion, especially in regard of the temples, of which they destroyed some and polluted others, defacing the

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images of the gods, killing the sacred animals both for sacrifice and the table, and sending forth the priests utterly destitute.*

The proceedings of SESOSTRIS, and of the Theban priesthood in the Delta, upwards of a hundred years before this event, will have fully prepared us for these acts of retribution. It was now the turn of the gods of Canaan; and it was inevitable, that the indignities which Ashtoreth and Ashtar had suffered in the treaty with Sheth would not be forgotten, now that their votaries were the lords of the same country, and the very temples in which the insult had been perpetrated were in their hands. If any portion of the inhabitants of the Delta still remained, in defiance of the terrors which accompanied the Exodus, that portion would probably be the priesthood, and the legend itself confirms the probability; so that the events it relates are exactly what might have been anticipated.

"After these things, AMENOPHIS came from Ethiopia with a great army. His son RAMSES, likewise, had levied a force. These two attacked together the Shepherds and the lepers, and conquered them. Having slain many, they pursued after the rest as far as the borders of Syria."†

This account from Manetho is repeated by Cheremon and Lysimachus, two other Alexandrian authors,‡ with but trifling variations. It was, therefore, a well accre-

* Contra Apion, *u.s.* † *u.s.* c. 27.

‡ *u.s.* 32, 34. Tacitus (Hist. v. 2) and Diodorus (xxxiv. 1) both, likewise, repeat the story of the expulsion of the lepers from Egypt.

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dited fact of history. We have considered the first part of this legend. We now proceed with the sequel.

The panic created by the events of the Exodus seems by the monuments to have extended over the whole of Egypt. Thebes itself must have at this time been deserted, and for a series of years. The king who claims to be the successor of SETHOS II. is a very obscure monarch, named RAMERRI, whose by no means short reign is marked by nothing but his appropriation of the tomb of THOUORIS and SIPHTHA by stuccoing over both their names and effigies, and that of SETHOS II. The history of this usurpation is now not difficult. The vault, as we have seen, had never been closed; and the events of the Exodus would by no means tend to elevate the Xoite line, and the last of its representatives, in the eyes of their countrymen. Their tomb was, therefore, appropriated by another, though not desecrated; neither were their names mutilated, like that of SETHOS.

Another instructive fact appears in these usurpations of RAMERRI. The arts of design had undergone a grievous deterioration in the interval between his accession and the times of his predecessor. We surely infer from this circumstance that they had fallen into disuse at Thebes, and therefore throughout the rest of Egypt, during this interval, and also that the interval must have been a long one, or it could not have happened that art to this extent should have perished. We have proximately put it down at a century. The evidence of its occurrence is chronological as well as monumental.

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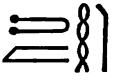
The son and successor of this monarch was likewise named RAMSES. The monuments of his reign are two only. They consist of a vast series of additions to the palace of Medinet Abou in Western Thebes, and of his tomb in the Biban-el-Malook. From both it plainly appears that he had a long and prosperous reign, and also a considerable amount of forced labour at his command.

The history of the reign of this king (RAMSES III.) is, happily, written in vast battle-pieces, with long explanatory texts in hieroglyphics, on the walls of his palace, Medinet Abou, in Western Thebes. These represent two actions of war with the Asiatic enemies of Egypt. The records are much harder to understand than any that we have hitherto met with.

The first war took place in his fifth year. It was with *Heth* and  *Hamath*, or Syria, *tmh*, the country to the northward of Arvad in Canaan, and separated from it by the river Lycus. The name of one of its cities, Damascus, or *Mesheg*, is also written in the inscription.

RAMSES had for his confederates in this war the Philistines. He is represented taking several fortresses, said to have been held against him by Hamath. The names of every one of them that we were able to recognize were those of cities in the Delta.

The last war of RAMSES III. took place in the twelfth year of his reign. It consisted of a descent upon Egypt of the two great maritime powers of Canaan,

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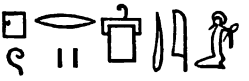
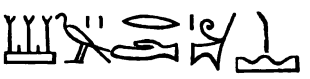
the *Philistines*  and the *Sidonians.*

 * They invaded it with a fleet of ships, and were of course repulsed both by sea and land. The result of this action is epitomized as usual. The king stands with ten captives at his feet, having the names of each inscribed over them. As in other cases, some of these are the names of foreigners subdued; "the two Rabbahs," that is, Sheth, for example, and *Lebanon,*

as Mr. Birch conjectures, and with probability; but the rest seem to be all cities in the Delta; for example: *Avaris,* which the legend makes to have been conspicuous in the war. *Phelbis,* also in the Delta. The masculine article ϕ has here been changed for the feminine τ in derision.

The names of the captives led by Phtha are likewise all in the same district.

Busiris, spelt *Tephphiri.*

* Probably a new name for the Arvadite or Tyrian settlers.

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Lycopolis in the Delta, "the wolf city."

Athribis in the Delta.*

It is therefore perfectly evident, that this war also was entirely confined to the borders of Egypt, and that the foreigners mentioned in it were settlers in possession of the cities captured in the course of it.†

Here, then, is the sequel to the monumental history of the so-called invasion of the Solymites. The inhabitants of Canaan fled in multitudes across the Isthmus before the armies of Israel, and took peaceable possession of the Delta, whence its inhabitants had been driven forth by the disasters of the Exodus. A long time afterwards (the chronology demands a century or more), the descendants of the native Pharaohs once more rallied in the upper country. The ancient Theban throne was re-established. Alliances were formed with the neighbouring nations, and either by war or by treaty, it is very doubtful which, the Delta, with the whole of its Canaanite settlers, was once more, and

* Above, p. 266.

† This completes our view of the foreign wars depicted on the temples of Egypt. We have found them to be all border wars.

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finally, annexed to the kingdom of Egypt. The inhabitants of these subdued cities were treated as foreigners, and, as in the treaty with Sheth, were rendered liable to forced service for three generations. By their labours was constructed the palace of Medinet Abou, the last of the great works of the Pharaohs, as well as the tomb of RAMSES III., its constructer, and those of a few of his immediate successors. Afterwards, these Canaanites became naturalized in Egypt, and supplied the population that enabled this now worn out and decrepid monarchy to maintain itself for a few centuries longer. In accordance with this indication, the monarchs of the succeeding age have scarcely distinguished themselves by a single public work of any kind. They had no forced labourers to employ upon them; so that with the 20th dynasty the monumental history of Egypt well nigh ceases.

The recapitulation of the 19th dynasty, as in former cases, will conclude our review of the history of Egypt, comprised in the second volume of Manetho, and our present undertaking. We give, as before, the years of the sole reign only of each monarch, as we are able to ascertain them; so that the sum of them may represent the actual duration of the dynasty.

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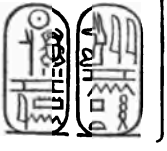
THE 19TH DYNASTY, OF DIOSPOLITAN KINGS.

Name in Lists.	On Monuments.		Years of Reign.
RAMSES	*Ramssu*		1½
SETHOS	*Set-ei*		55
SESOSTRIS-RAMSES	*S-sotpre-Ramss*		61
AMENEPHTHIS	*Amn-meh-ha*		2
THOUORIS	*Tha-rois*		co-regent 33
AMENEMNES	*Amn-mehn*		
			152½

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There is a circumstance connected with this division of the whole history of Egypt into volumes, which must not be allowed to pass unnoticed. Each of them was distinguished by a remarkable occurrence possessing precisely the same character. They connected the history of Egypt with that of the rest of the human race upon the earth: for they were all events arising out of some foreign influence bearing directly upon the future destinies of Egypt, whether prosperously or adversely, and giving a visible change of direction to the course of its subsequent history.

The first volume contained the story of the foundation of the monarchy, and of the wars of the primitive kings. It related the gradual progress of the kingdom, from the building of Memphis, until it reached the utmost dimensions of all that ever was called Egypt.

This epoch was brought to its close by the visit of Abram to Egypt, and its consequences. As it was one of constant territorial progress, and as it served to usher in another period of still greater prosperity, it was visibly designed by the authors to chronicle the rise of the kingdom of Egypt.

The second volume contained by far the most brilliant epoch in the history of Egypt. In it is embodied the gradual consolidation of the monarchy, by the healing of the several schisms which had rent the family of MENES, until, from the mouth of the Astaboras, in Ethiopia, to the mouths of the Nile, on the coast of the Mediterranean, Egypt with all its dependencies became one, under the sceptre of the great SESOSTRIS. By him it was transmitted, whole and

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undivided, to his descendants. The volume, therefore, comprised the history of Egypt in its highest prosperity. This period again was brought to its close by the terrible and utterly irretrievable disasters of the Exodus.

The third volume is the history of the decline and fall of the Egyptian monarchy. The final extinction of the sovereignty of the family of MENES, and the annexation of Egypt to the Macedonian Empire, brought the whole work to a conclusion.

If any apology be needed for the introduction here of these general remarks upon the whole history, the circumstance that the facts embodied in them have presented themselves to no other student of the subject, and that we are, consequently, the first to point them out, is the only one we have to offer. That other circumstance, namely, that the two great turning points of the whole history, the visit of Abram and the Exodus, prove to be events recorded in the books of Moses, and known to us only on their authority, is, likewise, the result of our own unaided investigation.

The reader must form his own estimate as to the value and importance of these facts.

We have now to harmonize the year of the death of SETHOS with that of the Exodus of Israel from Egypt. The summation of our estimated dates of each epoch stands thus.

From the first immigration to the capture of Memphis, by AMOSIS	70 years.
The 18th dynasty	205 „
„ 19th „	152½ „
	427½

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Our estimate, therefore, approaches within 2½ years to the time so distinctly specified in the Mosaic narrative as that of the duration of the sojourn in Egypt. It must be remembered, that every separate number of which this sum is composed was either taken from the lists of Manetho or from the monuments, modified by the probabilities presented by their careful study; and that, to avoid their being prompted by any regard to an ultimate result, we have conscientiously abstained from such calculations throughout the inquiry. We, therefore, give this close approximation, as by no means one of the least remarkable of the coincidences which have occurred to us. The impossibility of anything more than an approximation will at once appear when it is considered, that the reigns of all the kings throughout the series overlap each other, often at both extremities, and that the lists were not drawn up with any approach to exactitude in the first instance; besides having subsequently undergone dishonest alterations: though it is apparent that they were designed to chronicle the actual lapse of time for each dynasty. We, therefore, leave the two numbers as they stand to the reader's judgment, without attempting a conjectural restoration of them to perfect coincidence.*

The duration of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt is

* We have elsewhere conjecturally restored the coincidence by a somewhat different arrangement (*Israel in Egypt, u. s.*). On further reflection, however, we are disposed to prefer giving the several numbers exactly as we have estimated them.

The supernumerary months in each reign, which are occasionally given in the lists, may have supplied this small deficiency.

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a question which is rendered by this coincidence so strictly a part of our subject, and essential to the matter in hand, that the inquiry would clearly be imperfect without it. We are encouraged to consider this question by the example of two of the greatest living authorities upon our subject. Bunsen* and Lepsius† have both discussed it at length. We find a further encouragement in the circumstance that their investigations have by no means settled it, but rather increased the necessity of further inquiry; inasmuch, as according to the one, "the sojourn of Israel in Egypt lasted for 1440 years," while the other authority declares just as decidedly that "*only about 90 years intervened from the entrance of Jacob to the Exodus of Moses, and about as much from the entrance of Abraham into Canaan to Jacob's Exodus* [from Canaan]; so that from Abraham to Moses only about 180 years, or if we wish to make the most of it, 215 years passed."‡ A discrepancy so enormous as this, and in two such authorities, sets the whole question wide open, and renders it impossible for us to pass it by in silence.

We must premise that we have never sympathized with the now large class of thinkers, who avow their utter mistrust of all the statements in the Bible, merely because they are there. We do not perceive that this rejection either clears any difficulties out of the way of chronological inquiries, or at all advances

* Egypt's Place, i. pp. 171—178, &c.

† Einleitung, pp. 316—338.

‡ See the admirable translation of *Lepsius's Letters*, by the Miss Horners, p. 475.

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them to a satisfactory solution. Of this we could scarcely have a more instructive instance than the one now before us. The systematic rejection of all Scripture statements, when they are opposed either to their own deductions, or to the counter-statements of some profane author, and the reluctant and suspicious admission of them when they chance to fall in with either, are points on which both these eminent authorities are agreed. With many expressions of respect for the Bible, the reasonings of both are grounded altogether upon this principle. The sojourn in Egypt itself seems only to be admitted as a fact because it is stated by Lysimachus, Cheremon, Apion, and other Alexandrian opponents of the Jews. The whole of their elaborate reasonings are too much of the same strain. The Bible is dealt with as utterly without any authority in itself, and its statements only to be received when abundantly supported by other and better authorities; and even then with suspicion and hesitation. Yet has all this lofty superiority to vulgar misconceptions and prejudices led to no more satisfactory result than that we have stated. This circumstance leaves the inquiry open, at any rate, and may likewise be fairly urged as a plea for our endeavour to approach it from another point.

The passage of the Bible, in which the duration of the sojourn is stated, is very precise.

"Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years: and it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass,

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that all the hosts of Jehovah went out from the land of Egypt."*

This statement is given exactly in the place in which it was required by the order of the narrative, in the course of which it occurs. The departure of Israel out of Egypt was the best possible opportunity for mentioning the length of his sojourn in Egypt. It is likewise in conformity with a prophetic anticipation of the event given to Abram.† The same intimation has the further sanction of an inspired authority in the New Testament;‡ so that the vague number (400 years) of the prophecy seems to be accomplished by the 430 years of the formal narrative. So far all is very obvious. There are, however, difficulties in the way which require to be considered.

The prophetic announcement of the sojourn in Egypt declares that Israel shall return from thence "in the fourth generation;"§ and accordingly, in the tables of descent of the two tribes whose pedigrees are the most strongly insisted upon in the Mosaic narrative, namely, Judah and Levi, three names only appear in the interval of the sojourn in Egypt. This has constituted, in modern times, the great obstacle in the way of the reception of the text as it stands, because it is in the course of nature impossible that the lines of these tribes should have passed down three descents only in the course of 430 years.

It must, however, be confessed, that the difficulty occasioned by this want of concurrence has been met

* Exod. xii. 40, 41.
† Gen. xv. 13.
‡ Acts vii. 6.
§ *u. s.* v. 16.

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in a spirit not at all calculated to bring it to a satisfactory issue, or to elicit the truth. The close, calm examination, first of the Scriptural evidence to be found in other passages, and then of the modes of recording pedigrees that prevailed at the time when the Mosaic books were written, would have furnished many facts for the solution of the difficulty. But instead of this, our Biblical students have damaged the inquiry by rash assumptions and assertions so utterly ridiculous, as to bring contempt upon the faith they desire to defend. For example: it is contended, and we believe by nearly all the highest living authorities, that the formal statement of the time of the sojourn in Egypt* is corrupt, and that it was originally written thus: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt and *in the land of Canaan*,† was 430 years," &c. These critics seem to forget that this interpolation convicts itself, because it makes the passage altogether irrelevant to the matter discussed in the context, which was the sojourn in Egypt. How long Israel had been in Canaan was no part of the question, and the introduction of it merely stultifies the sense. They also entirely ignore the fact that the translators of the Septuagint, where it occurs, had dishonestly tampered with the dates of the whole preceding chronology, adding largely to each of them.‡ By this means they had brought up their total so high, as to interfere with the following synchronisms. They made this abatement to restore the balance.

* Exod. *u.s.* † καὶ ἐν γῇ Κάνααν (LXX. Exod. xii. 40).

‡ See above, vol. i. p. 377.

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There is another consideration, likewise, which, we submit, ought to have deterred those who believe and honour the Bible from entertaining such an assumption; and this is the physical impossibility that 70 * or 75 † persons could have expanded into 600,000 fighting men, with the old men, women, and children, of both sexes,‡ amounting, as we have said, to four millions of human souls, in 215 years. There is no need to give here the actuary tables which demonstrate this impossibility. It appears on the surface of the statement. §

It now remains for us to submit to our readers the mode in which the difficulties which seem to beset the received reading may be satisfactorily disposed of.

I. The word rendered "generation" in the prophetic promise to Abram does not mean "descent," but "all the souls then living;" || so that the sense of the passage was: "In [the course of] the fourth entire renewal of the living representatives of Abram upon the earth, they shall return," &c. The extreme limit

* Gen. xlvi. 27. † Acts vii. 14. ‡ Exod. xii. 27.

§ The attempts to show that in the course of nature such an increase is not only possible, but probable, are deplorable examples of the lengths to which the best men may be led by prepossessions on religious questions. They do not bear a moment's examination. Even on the assumption of 430 years for the sojourn, it is only the peculiar and favouring circumstances under which Israel dwelt in Goshen that can bring this enormous expansion within the category of the Divine blessing upon the ordinary laws of human increase. We have discussed the question at length elsewhere (*Israel in Egypt, u. s.*).

|| דור. See Numb. xxxii. 13: "Until all that *generation* be consumed." The original sense is "circle."

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of the expectation of life reaching at this time 120 years, it follows that the fourth generation actually was represented by Caleb and Joshua, when the Israelites returned to their land of promise.

II. The vague use of all words denoting parentage is another very familiar fact in Hebrew literature, the knowledge of which might have cleared some of the difficulties in the way of the reading for which we contend. The words "son" and "daughter," for example, are as often used in the sense of "descendant," as with their ordinary meaning. Had this been considered, it would have obviated the misunderstanding, whereby Jochebed has been declared by some critics to have been "the daughter of Levi;"* thus bringing the marriage of the parents of Moses and Aaron within the forbidden degrees. She was, we need not say, a daughter of Levi only in the sense in which she was a daughter of Abram, or Noah, or Adam. She was descended from him.

III. It might have further aided the investigation, had the pedigrees of the other patriarchs been likewise carefully sought for. It would have been found that the family of Ephraim, the firstborn of Joseph, had preserved theirs entire and throughout the sojourn, which is exactly what we might have expected, from the great privileges they would necessarily enjoy in Egypt over their brethren. This pedigree is quoted† to prove the descent of Joshua from Ephraim, and Shuthelah his firstborn. Its bearing upon the point before us is so important as to demand its insertion here.

* Exod. ii. 1. † 1 Chron. vii. 20—26.

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The sons of

1. Ephraim.
2. Shuthelah [his firstborn, Numb. xxvi. 35].
3. Bered.
4. Tahath.
5. Eladah.
6. Tahath II. [It was an Egyptian custom to name the first-born after his grandfather].
7. Zabad.
8. Shuthelah II.
9. Ezer.

Eliad,* whom the men of Gath slew, because they came down to take away their cattle.

And Ephraim their father [*i. e.*, the whole tribe] mourned many days; and his brethren [the rest of the tribes] came to comfort him.

And when he [Ezer] went into his wife she conceived, and bare a son; and he called his name

10. Beriah; because it went evil with his house.
11. Rephah.
12. Resheph.
13. Thelah.
14. Tahan.
15. Laadan.
16. Ammihud.
17. Elishama.
18. Nun.
19. Joshua.

* Eliad had a daughter, named Shereh, but no son. This was the reason why his tribe mourned. She was probably given to the prince of Gath in ransom for the dead body of her father. She is said to have built three cities in Canaan (1 Chron. vii. 24).

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This invaluable genealogy (we speak deliberately) sets at rest the question of the duration of the sojourn, inasmuch as it expressly declares that the family of Ephraim passed down *eighteen descents* in the course of that interval. It seems to us to be a matter of regret that it has not hitherto been better known.*

IV. The only remaining difficulty appears to be the shortened tables of Judah and Levi. Here, again, we cannot refrain from saying, that a superficial attention to the mode of writing these tables adopted throughout the Old Testament would have sufficed to obviate it. It is by no means common to insert all the descents in these pedigrees, but only the names of great or noted characters. The purpose of them was rather to preserve the direction of the line, than all the names that compose it. Such, we apprehend, has been the case with the tables of Judah and Levi. The name of the most distinguished head or prince of the tribe, in each century or generation, was all that was recorded.

We have found the same custom to have also prevailed in Egypt. All the genealogies which have come before us are in this manner abbreviated. It is, likewise, the case with all the others with which we are acquainted.

These considerations seem to us to dissipate the last remaining doubt as to the genuineness of the Hebrew reading; and, consequently, as to the length of the

* Bunsen and Lepsius both dismiss this genealogy as confused, corrupt, and unworthy of examination. To the generality of English disputants on this vexed question its existence appears to have been unknown.

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sojourn of Israel in Egypt.* It was 430 years. The histories of Israel and Egypt are, therefore, in entire harmony on this point.

The history we have eliminated from the turbid and distorting media, through which alone we are now able to discern the facts of which it is composed, is rendered intricate, through the co-regency of rival dynasties, like the former division of our work. A summary of it will, therefore, be required before our work is concluded.

We divide the whole into epochs, as in our former summary.†

Our inquiry into the period included in the second volume of Manetho has therefore produced us 63 hieroglyphic names of kings reigning in Egypt, and the actual lapse of 645 years of time. The summation for the same period at the foot of the lists is 92 kings, and 2121 years. We have no need now to remark further upon this point.

The somewhat less intricate nature of the internal arrangements in Egypt, as well as the more copious details furnished by the greater number of monuments, render it unnecessary for us to re-distribute the whole history here into periods, as at the close of the former volume.

The division of the whole of Egypt into the three kingdoms of Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt, was

* We have elsewhere (*Israel in Egypt, u. s.*) dealt at length with the assumed sanction given by St. Paul (Gal. iii. 17), to the shorter interval, and exposed the misapprehension of his meaning in which the mistake originated.

† See the two following pages.

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Probable duration.

EPOCH IV.*

LOWER EGYPT.	UPPER EGYPT.
DYNASTY X.	DYNASTY XII.
HERACLEOPOLITANS, or SEBENNYTES.	THEBANS.
No names known.	1 SESORTOSIS I.
	2 AMENEMES II.
	3 SESORTOSIS II.
	4 SESORTOSIS III.
	5 AMENEMES III.

EPOCH V.

DYNASTY XVI.	DYNASTY XII.
SO-CALLED MEMPHITE SHEPHERDS.	(continued.)
7 SAITES, or Salatis.	6 AMENEMES IV.

EPOCH VI.

285

LOWER EGYPT.	MIDDLE EGYPT.	UPPER EGYPT.
DYNASTY XVI. (continued.)	KINGS OMITTED FROM LISTS.	DYNASTY XII. (continued.)
10 APHOPHIS, son of MŒRIS.	8 MŒRIS, son of SAITES.	9 SKENIOPHRIS.
		DYNASTY XIII. THEBANS.
		11 MENTHESUPHIS II.
22 MELANERES, son of APHOPHIS.	23 Viceroy of MELANERES.	12 E 2 Karnak.
		13 E 3 „
	24 H 1 Karnak.	14 E 4 „
	25 H 2 „	15 E 5 „
	26 H 3 „	16 E 6 „
		17 SECHEMETES.
29 JANNES	27 H 4 „	18 SABACON I.
		19 F 5 Karnak.
		20 F 6 „
30 ASSES.	28 H 5 „	21 SABACON II., father of AMOSIS.

* See vol. i. p. 405.

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Probable duration.

EPOCH VII.

LOWER EGYPT.	MIDDLE EGYPT.	UPPER EGYPT.
DYNASTY XIV.		DYNASTY XVIII.
XOITES.	KINGS OMITTED.	THEBANS.
37 H 6 Karnak.	42 G 3 Karnak.	31 AMOSIS.
38 H 7 „	43 G 4 „	32 CHEBRON.
39 H 8 „	44 G 5 „	33 MESPHRES.
40 G 1 „	45 G 6 „	34 ACHENCHERES.
	47 G 7 „	35 AMENSES.
41 G 2	48 G 8 „	36 THOTHMOSIS.

EPOCH VIII.

THE XOITE KINGS.

Names unknown.

DYNASTY XVIII. (continued.)

49 ACHERRES. } Pretended to the Middle and Upper crowns.
50 ARMAIS. }
51 AMENOPHIS-*bek-en-aten.* }

52 ENCHERIS.
55 TAÏ
56 AMENOPHIS-MEMNON.
57 HORUS.

53 AI.
54 CHEBRES. } 360

EPOCH IX.

DYNASTY XIX.

THEBANS.

58 RAMESSU. } Permanent and final re-union of Upper and Middle Egypt.
59 SETHOS. }

62 SIPHTHA. } The last of the Xoites.
THOUORIS. }

EPOCH X.

DYNASTY XIX. (continued.)

60 SESOSTRIS-RAMSES. } Pharaohs in all Egypt.
61 AMENEPHTHIS. }
63 SETHOS II. }

Total 645

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unknown in the former volume of our history, though the shadow of it may be distinguished in the third epoch of our division of its history.* It very evidently appears in the rival co-regencies of our present volume. It is a remarkable illustration of the immutability of all things in Egypt, to find that this comparatively transient arrangement had, nevertheless, left upon the institutions of the monarchy an impression so indelible, that it remains not only to the times of the Greeks and Romans, but to the present day.

The duration of the kingdom of Egypt, from its foundation to the Exodus, we find to be represented by the following numbers:—

Time occupied by the first volume	...	470 years.
„ „ second „	...	645 „
		1115

This result possesses at any rate one advantage over those at which the German students of our subject have arrived. It restores the history of Egypt to harmony with that of the other ancient nations of the world, thereby abolishing the necessity for the bold and strange conjectures to which they have been driven, by the wide discrepancy between them which appeared in their calculations.†

The exact date of the Exodus is a point at present much contested by chronologers. The hitherto received number, 1491 B.C., is certainly too early. The year 1314 B.C. has been assumed by Lepsius, upon a very diligent examination of the whole question.‡ Without

* Vol. i. p. 405. † See vol. i. pp. 232—240.

‡ Chronologie, pp. 359—364.

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being able entirely to adopt this date, we readily admit that it strikes us as far more probable than the other, whether we consider the histories of Israel or Egypt. On this assumption, Memphis was founded by MENES 2429 B.C., a date which approximates as nearly as possible to that assigned by the Mosaic histories for the foundation of the primitive kingdoms of the earth.

Our task is now completed. We have endeavoured to read the early history of Egypt upon her own monuments, and to harmonize it with that of the rest of mankind. It has been our sincere endeavour to search out the truth in every step of our progress. We have laboured throughout to divest ourselves of preconceptions, and to regard the issue of nothing beyond the matter in hand. We have, likewise, as far as possible, submitted the translations we have offered, to the judgment of others, by very copious reproductions in our pages of the original texts. Little as these may add either to the embellishment or the value of the book in the estimation of most readers, we felt, nevertheless, that there was no other mode of dealing justly with those who are engaged in the same pursuits. Whatever estimate, then, may be formed as to the value of our results, we can at any rate give them as having flowed from the most careful and impartial examination we have the power to give to the subject.

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